10.

THE COPIE OF A LETTER SENT OVT OF ENGLAND TO DON BERNARDIN MENDOZA AMBASSADOVR IN FRANCE FOR the King of Spaine, declaring the ſtate of England, contrary to the opinion of *Don Bernardin*, and of all his partizans Spaniardes and others.

This Letter, although it was ſent to Don Bernardin Mendoza, *yet, by good hap, the Copies therof aſwell in Engliſh as in French, were found in the chamber of one* Richard Leigh *a* Seminarie Prieſt, *who was lately executed for high treaſon committed in the time that the Spaniſh Armada was on the ſeas.*

Whereunto are adioyned certaine late Aduertiſements, concerning the loſſes and diſtreſſes happened to the Spaniſh Nauie, aſwell in fight with the Engliſh Nauie in the narrow ſeas of England, as alſo by tempeſts, and contrarie winds, vpon the Weſt, and North coaſts of Ireland, in their returne from the Northerne Iſles beyond Scotland.

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'74-2601

THE COPIE OF A LETTER SENT OVT OF ENGLAND TO DON BERNARDINE MENDOZA AMBASSADOVR IN FRANCE FOR THE KING OF SPAYNE.

MY Lord Ambassadour, though at the time of my last large writing to you of the state of this countrey, & of our long desired expectation of succours promised, I did not thinke to have had such a sorrowfull occasion of any second writing, as nowe I have of a lamentable change of matters of estate here: yet I can not forbeare (though it be with as many sighs as lines) to advertise you of the truth of our miserable condition, as now to me & others of our partie the same appeareth to be: that by comparing of all things past in hope, with the present nowe in despaire, your L. who have had the principall managing hitherto of all our causes of long time both here & there in France, betwixt the King Catholique assisted with the Potentates of the holy League, & all our countrimen which have professed obedience to the Church of Rome, may now fall into some new & better consideration, how our state both for our selves at home, and our brethren abroade, now at this present fallen (as it were) into utter despaire, may be revived & restored to some new hope, with better assurance of successe then hath happened hitherto. For which purpose I have thought it necessary to advertise you in what termes this countrey now standeth, farre otherwise then of late, both we at home, and others abroad did make accompt of.

In what termes England standeth in the opinion of the Catholiques.

You know how we have depended in firme hope of a change of the state of this countrey by the meanes of the devout and

earnest incitations of the Popes holines, and the King Catholique, and of other Potentates of the holy League, to take vpon them the Inuasion and conquest of this Realme: and by your assurances, and firme promises, we were now of a long season past perswaded, that the King Catholique had taken vpon him the same glorious Act, and thereof from yeare to yeare we looked for the execution: being continually fed and nourished from you to continue our hope, and sundrie times solicited by your earnest requests, and perswasions, to encourage our partie at home not to wauer, as many were disposed, by sight of continuall delaies, but to be ready to ioyne with the outward forces that should come for this Inuasion. Neuertheless the delayes and prolongations of times appointed for the comming of the Kings forces, specially by Sea, haue bene so manie, as vntill this last Spring, we were in despaire: at what time you aduertised vs with great assurance that al the Kings preparations, which had bene in making readie these three or foure yeares together, were now in full perfection, and without faile would this Sommer come into our Seas with such mightie strength, as no Nauie of England, or of Christendome, could resist or abide their force: and for more suretie, and for auoiding of all doubts, to make the intended conquest sure, the same should also haue ioyned to it, the mightie Army which the Duke of Parma had made readie, and kept in readinesse in the low countries all this yeare past, wherewith he should land, and so both by Sea and land, this Realme should be inuaded, and a spedie conquest made thereof, to the which were alwaies added sundry reasons: whereupon was gathered, that neither by sea, nor by land, there would be any great resistance found here, but a strong party in this Realme to ioyne with the forreine force. For otherwise then with such helps, to be assuredly had from hence, I know it was alwaies doubted that no forreine force could preuaile against this realme, being (as it is) enuironed by sea, and notably replenished with more mightie and stronger people then any country in Christendome. But with the hope of the landing of these great Armies and our assistance in taking part, we here continued

The Spanish preparation three yeeres in making.

The Duke of Parmas army in Flaunders.

No forreine force coulde inuade England, without a strong party in England.

Hope of victorie by the Spanish Army with assistance of a partie in England this Sommer.

nued all this yeare past in assured hope of a full victorie, vntill this last moneth. But alas and with a deadly sorrow, we must all at home, and abroad, lament our sudden fall, from an immeasurable high ioy, to an vnmeasurable deepe despaire, and that so hastilie fallen out, as I may say, we haue seene in the space of eight or nine dayes in this last moneth of July, which was from the apparance of the Catholique great Naule vpon the coast of England, vntill it was forced to flie from the coast of Flanders neare Callice, towardes the vnknowen parts of the cold North, all our hopes, all our buildings, as it now appeareth but vpon an imagined conquest, vtterly ouerthrowen, and as it were with an earthquake, all our castles of comfort brought to the ground, which now (it seemeth) were builded but in the aire, or vpon waues of the sea, for they are all perished, all vanished away from our thoughtes.

All Spanishe hope fallen in nine daies.

And herewith I am astonished what I may best thinke of such a worke so long time in framing, to be so suddenly ouerthrown, as by no reason could proceed of man, or of any earthly power, but only of God. And if so it be (as no body can otherwise impute this late change & fall from our expected fortune, but to God almighty) then surely our case is either dangerous or doubtfull how to iudge thereof, whether we haue bene these many yeares in the right or not. For I do find, and know, that many good, and wise men, which of long time haue secretly continued in most earnest deuotion to the Popes authoritie, begin now to stagger in their mindes, and to conceiue that this way of reformation intended by the Popes holines is not allowable in the sight of God, by leauing the auncient course of the Church by Excommunication, which was the exercise of the spirituall sword, and in place thereof to take the temporall sword, and put it into a Monarches hand to inuade this realme with force and Armes, yea to destroy the Quéne thereof, and all her people addicted to her, which are in very truth now séene, by great proofe this yeare, to be in a sort infinite, and inuincible, so as some begin to say that this purpose by violence, by blood, by slaughter, & by conquest, agréeth not with Christes doctrine, nor the doctrine of S. Peter, or S. Paule. And to tell your

The Catholiques doubt, of their cause seeing the hād of God is against the Armie.

Many English Catholiques mislike of the Popes reformatiō by force.

Lordship truly. I finde presently a great number of wise and devout people, though they continue in their former religion, yet do they secretely condemne this intended reformation by blood and force. Insomuch that I heard a good diuine alledge a text out of S. Gregorie in these words, *Quid de Episcopis qui verberibus timeri volunt Canones dicunt bene paternitas vestra novit, pastores sumus nō percussores. Nova enim est predicatio quæ verberibus exigit fidem.* This sentence I obtained of him, because it seemeth to be charitably written. But leaning this authoritie among Doctors, I must nedes say that in very truth no one thing hath done at this time more hurt to the action, then the vntimely hasty publishing abroad in this Realme before this Armie of Spaine was readie to come forth to the seas, of sundrie things written and put in Print, & sent into this realme, to notifie to the people, that all the Realme should be inuaded and conquered, that the Quéene should be destroied, al the Nobilitie, & men of reputation, of honour, and wealth that did obey her, and would defend her, or that would withstand the Inuasion, should be with all their families rooted out, and their places, their honours, their houses and landes bestowed vpon the conquerers: things vniuersally so odiously taken, as the harts of all sorts of people were enflamed: some with ire, some with feare, but all sortes almost, without exception, resolued to venture their liues for the withstanding of all maner of conquest, wherewith euery body can say this Realme was not threatned these fiue hundreth yeares and more.

The vntimely publishing of the intended conquest before the Spanish nauy was redy, did great hurt.

The heartes of all sorts of people enflamed against the Spaniards vaunting to conquer the land.

These reports were brought to this realme with good credit, not in secret but in publique writings & printings, and toke déepe rote in all kind of people of this land, and in déde was of the more credit, first by reason of a new Bull lately published at Rome by the Popes holines, which I haue séene, with more seueritie then other of his predecessours, whereby the Quéene here was accursed, and pronounced to be depriued of her Crowne: & the Inuasion and conquest of the Realme committed by the Pope to y King Catholique, to execute the same with his armies both by sea and land, and to take the Crowne to him selfe, or to limit it to such a Potentate as the Pope & he

The vntimely publication of the Popes Bull did hurt to the common cause.

should

ſhould name. And ſecondly, there followed a large explanati-
on of this Bull, by ſending hither a number of Engliſh bookes
printed in Antwerp euē when the Nauy of Spaine was dai-
ly loked for, the originall whereof was written by the reue-
rend father Cardinall Allen in Aprill laſt, called in his owne writing the Cardinall of England, which booke was ſo violent-
ly, ſharply, and bitterly written, yea (ſay the Aduerſaries) ſo
arrogantly, falſly, and ſlaunderouſly, againſt the perſon of the
Quéne, againſt her father King Henrie the eight, againſt all
her Nobilitie and Counſell, as in very truth I was heartily
ſory to perceiue ſo many good men of our owne religion offen-
ded therewith, in that there ſhould be found in one accompted
a father of the Church, who was alſo a borne ſubiect of this
crowne (though by the Aduerſaries reported to be very baſely
borne) ſuch foule, vile, irreuerent, and violent ſpéeches, ſuch
irefull and bloody threatnings of a Quéne, of a Nobilitie, yea
of the whole people of his owne nation.

Cardinall Allens bookes haue done much hurt to the intended inuaſion and conqueſt.

Sory, and moſt ſory I am to report the generall euill con-
ceipt of theſe vnordinate and vnaduiſed proceedings of this
Cardinall, of whoſe raſh choiſe to ſuch a place, the world ſpea-
keth ſtrangely, as though he came to it through corruption of
the Popes ſiſter, without liking of the Colledge of Cardinals,
where otherwiſe the bleſſed intention of our holy Father, and
the deſire alſo of the ſaid Cardinall, might without ſuch fatall
bloody premonitions and threatnings of future Inuaſions
and conqueſts by the Catholique Kings noble forces, haue ta-
ken better place.

The Cardinals raſh & violent writing miſliked by the Catholiques.

There was alſo to adde the more credite to theſe terrible
prognoſtications, ſuch kind of other bookes printed in Spaine
and tranſlated into French, (as it is ſaid by your Lordſhip)
containing particular long deſcriptions, and catalogues of
Armadas of Caſtile, of Andaluzia, of Biſcaye, of Guipuſcue, of
Portingall, of Naples, of Sicil, of Raguſa, and other Countries
of the Leuant, with a maſſe of all kinde of prouiſions, beyond
meaſure, for the ſaid Armadas, ſufficient in eſtimation, to be
able to make conqueſt of many kingdomes or countries. And
one great Argument is publiſhed by the Aduerſaries to ſtirre

The multitude of bookes publiſhed to ſhewe the greatnes of the Spaniſh Nauy, did alſo hurt.

vp the mindes of the Nobilitie of England against the Spaniards, which is very maliciously inuented, to shew the intention of the conquest, not only of England, but of the whole Ile of Britaine: moouing all men specially to marke by the descriptiõ of the Armada, that there are specially named such a number of Noblemen, as Princes, Marquises, Condes and Dons, that are called Aduenturers, without any office or pay, & such another number also of men with great titles of honour, and many of them named Captaines and Alferez, without office, but yet in sold, and therefore called Entertenidos, as all those being for no seruice in the Armada may be wel presumed (say they) to haue come to haue possessed the rowmes of all the Noblemen in England, and Scotland: and this fiction hath taken more place then it is worth. And though these armies were in deede exceeding great and mightie, yet they were so amplified beyond all measure in these bookes, as in no preparation of Christendome in former times against the Sarracins or Turks could be greater. By this meanes this Queene and her realme, being thus forewarned and terrified, toke occasion with the aide of her people, being not onely firmely (as she was perswaded) deuoted to her, but throughly irritated, to stirre vp their whole forces for their defence, against such prognosticated conquests, as in a very short time all her whole Realme and euery corner were speedily furnished with armed people on horsebacke, and on foote, and those continually trained, exercised, and put into Bands, in warlike maner, as in no age euer was before in this Realme. Here was no sparing of money to prouide, horse, armour, weapon, powder, and all necessaries, no not want of prouision of Pioners, carriages, and victuals in euery Countie of the realme, without exception, to attend vpon the Armies. And to this generall furniture euery man voluntarily offered, very many their seruice personally without wages, others money for armour and weapons, and to wage souldiers, a matter strange and neuer the like heard of in this realme or elsewhere: And this general reason moued all men to large contributions, that to withstand a Conquest where all should be lost, there was no time to spare a portion.

The forewarninges of the Armadas greatnes caused the Queene to put all her Realme in force beyond all former.

The

The numbers made ready in the Realme I cannot affirme of mine owne knowledge, but I haue heard it reported, when I was greeued to thinke the same to be so true, that there was through England no quarter East, West, North and South, but all concurred in one minde to be in readines to serue for the Realme: and that some one countrie was able to make a sufficient Armie of twentie thousand men fit to fight, and fiftéene thousand of them well armed & weaponed: and in some countries the number of fortie thousand able men.

The Armies made readie in England in euery quarter of the realme.

The maritime Countries from Cornewall, all along the Southside of England, to Kent: and from Kent Eastward, by Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk to Lincolnshire (which Countries with their Hauens were well described vnto you in perfect Plots, when Frances Throgmorton, first did treat with your Lordship about the same) were so furnished of men of warre, both of themselues, & with resort of aide from their next shires, as there was no place to be doubted for landing of any forrein forces, but there were within eight and fortie houres to come to the place aboue twentie thousand fighting mē on horsebacke and on foote, with field ordinance, victuals, pioners and cariages, and all those gouerned by the principall Noble men of the Countries, and reduced vnder Captaines of knowledge.

The Maritime Countries prouided at lāding places with twenty thousand men.

And one thing I heard of, that was very politikely ordered and executed at this time, as of many late yeares was not vsed: that as the Leaders & officers of the particular Bāds were men of experience in the warres: so to make the Bands strong and constant, choise was made of the principall Knights of all Countries to bring their tenantes to the field, being men of strength, & landed, & of wealth: whereby all the forces so compounded were of a resolute disposition to sticke to their Lords and Chieftaines, & the Chieftaines to trust to their owne tenants. And to remember one strāge spéech that I heard spoken may be marueiled at, but it was auowed to me for a truth, that one Gentlemā in Kent had a Band of one hundred & fiftie footmen, which were worth in goods aboue one hundred & fiftie thousand pounds sterling, besides their lands: such men would fight stoutely before they would haue lost their goods, and by

All the bands were vnder the principal Knights of the realme compounded of the most mightie men being their tenants and seruants.

A strange report of the wealth of a band of souldiers.

likelihood at this time, many other Bands were made of such principall men, both of wealth and strength. Of these thinges I am sorry to haue cause to write in this sort: because you may see how heretofore you haue bene deceiued with aduertisemẽts of many, which had no power to know the truth thereof, and so I confesse my selfe in some thinges to haue erred, namely, in imagining that whẽsoeuer any forreine power should be seene ready to land in any part of this Realme, there would haue bene found but a small number resolute to withstãd the same, or to defend the Queene, but that the same would haue bene very vnable for the warres, vntrained, raw, and ignorant in all warlike actions, without sufficient armour and weapons and that also the Noble men and Gentlemẽ that were in this Realme of our Religion, whereof, you know, we made accõpt when you were here in England of very many, although many of thẽ be dead since that time, but at this time there are not so many tens, as we accompted hundreds, whom we thought would haue shewed them selues like men of courage for our common cause, and would haue sodenly surprised the houses, families, and strength of the heretiques and Aduersaries.

An error of the Catholique fugitiues in the numberof their partners in England.

But now, such is our calamitie, that it hath pleased God, as I thinke for our sinnes, or els for confounding of our bold opinions, and presumptions of our owne strength, to put in the hearts of all persons here, one like mynde, & courage to withstand the intended Inuasion, as well in such as we accompted Catholiques, as also in the Heretiques: so as it hath appeared manifestly that for all earnest proceeding for arming, and for contributions of money, and for all other warlike actions, there was no difference to be seene betwixt the Catholique, & the heretique. But in this case to withstand the threatned conquest, yea to defend the person of the Queene, there appeared such a sympathie, concourse, and consent of all sortes of persons, without respect of Religion, as they all appeared to be ready to fight against all strangers, as it were with one heart and one body. And though some few principall Gentlemen, of whom heretofore you haue had the names in such Catalogues of Catholiques as you haue bene acquainted withall,

A consent and concurrencie of Papistes and Protestants to withstand the conquest.

were

were lately vpon the report of the comming out of the Army to the seas, sent to the Isle of Ely there to remaine restrained of their former libertie during the expectation of this intended Invasion: yet it hath appeared, that they were not so restrained for any doubt that they would with their powers haue assisted our Army, but onely thereby to make it knowen to all our friends and countrie men in Spaine, and Flaunders, yea euen to your selfe (for so I heard it spoken, as accompting you to haue bene the most principall Author and perswader of this action) that there should be no hope to haue any of them, or of their friends, to assist these great Armies. And in very truth, I see now whosoeuer of our friends in Spaine, or in Flaunders, or elsewhere, made any such accompt of any aide against the Queene, or against her partie here, they should haue bene deceaued if the Armie had offered to haue landed. For I my selfe haue heard that the best of those that were sent to Elie did make offers, yea by their letters to the Counsell here, signed with their hands, that they would aduenture their liues in defence of the Queene, whom they named their vndoubted Soueraigne Lady and Queene, against all forrein forces, though the same were sent from the Pope, or by his commandement: Yea diuers of them did offer that in this quarell of inuading of the Realme with strangers, they would present their own bodies in the formost rankes with their Countrimen against all strangers. Whereupon I heard also by a secrete friende of mine in the Court, that it was once in some towardnes of resolution amongst the Counsellers, that they should haue bene returned and put to their former libertie. But the heate of the warre being kindled with the knowledge of the Kings Armada, being at that time come to the Groigne, and the Duke of Parmas readines with so great an Armie and shipping in Flaunders, daily loked for to land in England, yea to come to London, and a generall murmur of the people against all such Recusants of reputation, was the cause of the staying of these Gentlemen at Elie, notwithstanding their offers of their seruice to the Queene: and so they do remaine in the Bishops pallace there, with fruition of large walkes about the same,

The gentlemen Recusants in Elie offer to aduenture their liues against all invasions whatsoeuer, without respect of Pope or other potentate.

altogether without any imprisonment, other then that they are not suffered to depart into the towne, or countrey: and yet for their religion, I thinke surely they doe, and will, remaine constant to the obedience of the Church of Rome: for the which neuertheleſſe they are not impeached to any danger of their liues, but only charged with a penaltie of money, because they will not come to the Churches: whereby, by the law a portion of their Reuenue is alotted to the Quéene, and the reſt left to the maintenance of them, their wiues, and children.

The Recusants are not put in danger of their liues for their religion, but are fined at summes of money.

By which kind of procédings our Aduerſaries here do pretend, that both theſe Gentlemen, and all other of their qualities are fauourably vſed, that they are not purſued to death for their religion, as they ſay it was vſed in Quéene Maries time, and as it is daily vſed (as they ſay) moſt rigorously and barbarouſly in Spaine againſt the Engliſhmen that come thither, only in trade of marchandiſe. And yet I and others ſometimes priuately ſpeaking with ſuch our Aduerſaries, as we thinke are not maliciouſly bent to haue men proſecuted to death only for their religion (for to ſay the truth, and as the Prouerbe is, not to belie the Diuell, very many of our Contraries are in that point not vncharitable) we do obiect to them the executions by cruel torments and deathes of very many, both here about London, and other parts of the Realme, whom we accompt as Martirs, in that they doe witnes by their death their obedience to the Pope, and the Catholique Church of Rome.

The Ieſuits are not executed for religion but for treaſons.

To which, theſe our aduerſaries pretending ſome ſmal drops of charity do anſwere vs: that no execution hath bene of any, to their knowledge, for their religion, or for profeſſion therof: but for that they which haue bene executed, haue bene found to haue wandred in the Realme ſecretly, & in a diſguiſed maner, which the Aduerſaries ſcornfully terme as Ruffians, with feathers and all ornaments of light coloured apparell, like to the faſhion of Courtiers, and doe vſe many meanes to entice all people, with whom they dare aduenture to ſpeake, not onely to be reconciled to the Pope, and Church of Rome, but to induce them by vowes and othes to renounce their obedience to the Quéene: to deny her to be their ſoueraigne: & themſelues

The Seminaries for the moſt part come diſguiſed like Ruffians.

to

to be discharged of their Alleageance: and to repute all Magistrates vnder her to be vnlawfull, and in conscience not to be obeied: with many moe such matters (which I neuertheless, count to be verie vaine calumniations) tending to make the facts of all such holy Priests as are sent with Commission to winne mens soules to be direct treasons against the Quéene, and the state of the Realme.

These Defenders of these iudgements and executions, contend, and do most earnestly maintaine, that all such Priestes, Iesuites, Seminaries and others, so perswading the people against the Quéene, the Lawes, the Gouernment, and state of the Realme, and all others that are so perswaded by them, are manifest traitors: and so they say that their enditements, and all proces of law extended and pursued against them, doe manifestly declare the same. Wherein, these our Aduersaries doe sometimes for maintenance of their arguments, shew the very copies of their enditements and iudgements, wherein there is no mention made of charging them with their religion, but that they haue attempted to perswade the Quénes subiects to forsake their Allegeance, and consequently to be Rebels to their Quéne and Soueraigne.

In this sort these men for their aduantage, doe at all times, with these and many like earnest arguments maintaine their procédings against the holy Priests & Iesuites, that haue suffred death for their conscience, as iust & necessary. And though, where I and others may reply without perill to our selues (as surely in some smal companies we may vsing modest words) we obiect the confession of the Catholique faith by the parties at their death, and that with great constancie, which our Aduersaries cannot deny, so as it may séeme they die for their religion: yet is it on the other part against vs alleaged & maintained, that they are neither indited, condemned, nor executed for their religion, or for offering of themselues to die for their religion, but onely for their former treasons in conspiring against the Quéene, and state of the Realme: no otherwise then of late time Babington and all his Complices, who were condemned for their attempt to haue raised warre in the

Babington suffered for his treason voluntarily confessed, not for religion: though at his death hee professed the Romane religion.

Realme, and to haue murdered the Quéne, and to haue set vp the Quéene of Scots. all which the said Babington and all his complices voluntarily confessed, and were condemned and executed, onely for those their great treasons: and yet diuers of them at the place of their execution, did in like maner (as these Priests and Iesuites vse to doe) make confession of their Catholique faith, with offer to die for the same: and yet (say our Aduersaries) it ought not to be affirmed, that Babington and his complices were put to death for religion, but for their treasons.

And for further maintenance of the coloured arguments, wherewith I, and others my good, faithfull, and Catholique brethren are often troubled how to answere them, it is alleaged that the great number of Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, yea some of honourable calling, and of other meaner degrées, are knowne manifestly to be of a contrary religion to the lawes of the Realme, both nére the Court and farre of, and yet they are neuer pursued by any fourme of law to put their liues in danger, or questioned, or imprisoned, for their opinions in religion, whereby to bring them in any danger. Onely such as are presented or complained of by the parishioners where they dwell, for neuer comming to any Church by the space of certaine moneths in a wholeyeare, are therof indited, and afterward being called to answere thereto, if they can shew no such lawfull excuse as the law hath prouided, they are then condemned to pay a penaltie out of their goods and lands, if they haue any, and not otherwise punished, nor yet by inquisition any of them examined of their faith. But yet say these Defenders, if they shew themselues by their open dédes and facts to be reconciled from their Alleageance and obedience to the Queene, and that they will therein persist, then they are therewith charged and punished according to the lawes therfore prouided.

A multitude of gentlemen suspected to be Papists, yet neuer indangered of their liues.

These arguments in their defence I do not repeat as allowing of them, but yet surely they do moue me, and some others that are wise, to thinke, that indeed the rashnes of diuers comming secretly into the realme, and professing themselues to be Priests,

Priestes, many of them being both very young, vnlearned, and of light behauiour, hath done great harme to the goodnesse of our common cause: and if they and such others could haue temperately and secretly instructed the people, and vsed more circumspection in their owne liuing & behauiour, there would haue bene a greater increase of nombers perswaded in conscience to haue ioyned with vs in our profession. Whereof I am the bolder to write to you, my Lord, that you may conferre with our countrimen, that haue accesse vnto you, and that they also may deale with the Fathers of the Iesuites, that more care and choice be had of such English men as are hereafter to be sent into England, and not to send euery yong mã that hath more boldnesse, then learning and temperance, for such a function.

Many of the Priests that are sent into the realm, are yong, rash, & of leude life.

In the former part of this my declaration to you of the vniuersall concurrence of all men of value, wealth, and strength, in the body of the Realme, to serue and defend the Quéene and the Realme, I forgot to report vnto you the great numbers of Ships of the subiectes of the Realme: as of London and other port townes, and cities, that voluntarily this yeare were armed, able to make a full Nauie of themselues for an armie, & all at the proper costs of the Burgesses, for certaine moneths, with men, victuall, and munition, which did ioyne with the Quéenes owne Nauie all this Sommer, a thing neuer in any former age heard of, otherwise then that such ships were alwayes hired, waged, & victualled by the Kings of the Realme, which argued to the griefe of me and some others a most vehement and vnaccustomed affection & deuotion in the Cities and port townes, such, as they shewed them selues therein ready to fight, as it had bene, *pro aris & focis*.

A great strẽgth of the English Nauie, by the Shippes of the port townes that did serue without wages.

Of the number and strength of the Quéenes owne ships of warre, I thinke you haue bene sufficiently enformed many times heretofore. But yet I will make you a true report of the state of them this present Sommer, what I haue credibly heard thereof: because I haue bene very sory to heare how you & others haue bene therein abused: and that not onely in this matter of the Quéenes ships, but in some other things al-

ſo of late, whereof ſome part hath bene here by very many, maliciouſly, and in common ſpeeches, imputed to your owne inuention and publication: whereof in a few wordes I will make ſome digreſſion before I ſhall ſhewe the eſtate of the Quéenes Paule.

Two notable lies printed in Paris and imputed to Don Bernardin Mendoza.

In this Sommer paſt there was Printed in Paris, by your direction (as it was reported) a notable vntruth, which I did ſée, & reade: that the King of Scots had beſieged Barwicke, and had won it by aſſault, and poſſeſſed it quietly: whereof no part was true, nor any cauſe to imagine the ſame, though I wiſh it had ſo bene: but not for any good will that I now beare to that King, but for the trouble to this Quéene. For in truth there is no good for vs to be hoped for from the King of Scots, howſoeuer the Scottiſh Biſhops in France haue ſought to make you beléeue otherwiſe, who is ſo rooted in the Caluiniſtes Religion, as there is neuer hope that he can be recouered to the Church of Rome: & ſo I thinke you are of late duely enformed, and by his violent actions againſt diuers Catholiques, & againſt all that fauour the Spaniards, may certainly appeare.

A moſt manifeſt lie printed in Paris, of a Spaniſh victory when it was altogether an Engliſh victorie.

And likewiſe another great vntruth was lately Printed (as your enemies ſay) by your direction alſo in Paris, that now in July laſt, when the Spaniſh Fléete and Engliſh had met and fought betwixt France and England, the Spaniards had then a great victorie, wherein they had ſonke the Lord Admirall of England, with ſixtéene of the Quéenes great ſhips into the bottome of the Seas, and that all the reſt were driuen to flie with the Viceadmirall Frances Drake. Vpon theſe two ſo notable vntruthes, which the Aduerſaries ſpitefully called Don Bernardin Mendozas mendacia, many who honour you, were right ſory, that you ſhould giue ſo haſtie credite, to publiſh the ſame (as your enemies ſay) you did: though I haue to my power for clearing of your honour giuen it out, that theſe and ſuch like haue proceéded of the lightnes of the French, who cómonly Print more lies then truths, in ſuch doubtfull times, and not of you, whoſe honour and wiſedome I thought would not be iuſtly touched with ſo great vntruthes and lies: conſidering alwayes, a ſmall time will diſcouer things that are in

Mendacia of Mendoza.

facts reported vntruly, and bringeth the Authours to discredit and infamie. There hath bene a speach also reported here, to haue proceeded from you in France, that hath caused a great misliking of you in Scotland: which is, that you should in open assembly, and in a brauery say, that the young King of Scots (whom you called in your language a boy) had deceiued the King your master: but if the Kings Nauie might prosper against England, the King of Scots should lose his Crowne: and of this the King of Scots hath bene aduertised out of France, and vseth very euill language of you, which I will not report.

But now to leaue this digression, and to returne to let you know the truth of the state of ỳ Quenes Nauy this Sommer. The same was in the beginning of the yeare, when the brute was brought of the readines of the kings Armada in Lisbone, and of the Army by land vpon the Sea coasts in Flanders with their shipping, deuided into three companies: the greatest vnder the charge of Charles L. Haward high Admirall of England, whose father, grandfather, vncles, great vncles, and others of his house, being of the noble house of the Dukes of Norfolk, had also bene high Admirals afore him, whereof both France and Scotland haue had proofe.

The state of the Nauie of England this Sommer.

L. Haward L. Admirall.

An other company were appointed to remaine with the L. Henry Seymour second son to the Duke of Somerset that was Protector in King Edwardes time, & brother to the now Earle of Hartford: and these companies for a time continued in the Narrow Seas betwixt England and Flaunders, vnder the charge of the said high Admirall, to attend on the Duke of Parmas Actions.

L. Henry Seymour.

A third company were armed in the West part of England towardes Spaine, vnder the conduct of Sir Francis Drake: a man by name and fame knowne to too wel to all Spaine, and to the Kings Indias, and of great reputation in England: and this was compounded, partly of some of the Quenes owne ships, and partly of the ships of the West partes.

Sir Francis Drake.

But after that it was certainely vnderstood, that the great Nauie of Spaine was ready to come out from Lisbone, and

that the fame thereof was blowne abroad in Chriſtendome to be inuincible, and ſo publiſhed by bookes in Print, the Quéne and all her Counſell I am ſure (whatſoeuer good countenance they made) were not a little perplexed, as looking certainely for a daungerous fight vpon the Seas, and after that for a landing and Inuaſion. Whereupon the Lord Admirall was commaunded to ſaile with the greateſt ſhips, to the Weſt of England towardes Spaine to ioyne with Drake, whom he made Viceadmirall, & to continue in the ſeas betwixt France and England to ſtop the landing of the Nauy of Spaine. And with the Lord Admirall went in certaine of the Quéns ſhips,

L. Tho. Haward L. Sheffeld. the Lord Thomas Haward ſecond ſonne to the laſt Duke of Norfolke, and the Lord Sheffeld, ſonne to the Admirals ſiſter, who is wife to the Quénes Ambaſſadour in France, with a great number of Knights of great linelode: And at that time the Lord Henry Seymour was left with a good number of ſhips in the narrow Seas, vpon the coaſt of Flaunders to attend on the Duke of Parma.

Whileſt theſe two Nauies were thus deuided, I confeſſe to you that I and others of our part, ſecretely made full accompt that none of all theſe Engliſh ſhips durſt abide the ſight of the Armada of Spaine: or if they would abide any fight, yet they ſhould all be ſonke at the firſt encounter. For ſuch conſtant opinion we had conceiued by the reportes of the world, that the greatnes & number of the ſhips, and the Army of Spaine, being the choſen veſſels of all the Kings Dominions, was ſo exceſſiue monſtrous, beyond all the Nauies that euer had bene ſéene in Chriſtédome (not excepting the Armada at Lepanto) that no power could abide in their way. But how farre deceiued we were therein, a very ſhort time, euen the firſt day, did manifeſtly, to the great diſhonour of Spaine, diſcouer. For when the Catholique Armie came to the coaſt of England, which in déede the Engliſh confeſſe did ſéeme farre greater then they loked for, and that they were aſtonied with the ſight of them: yet the Lord Admirall & Drake, hauing but onely fifty of the Engliſh ſhips out of the Hauen of Plimmouth, where the reſt remained for a new reuictualling, without tarying for

The fight of the Engliſh Nauie with the Spaniſh.

the

the reſt of the Nauy that was in Plimmouth, they did offer preſent fight, and furiouſly purſued the whole Nauy of Spaine, being aboue one hundred and threſcore ſhips: ſo as the ſame, with the furious and continuall ſhot of the Engliſh one whole day, fled without any returning. And after, the Engliſh Nauy being encreaſed to an hundred great and ſmall, renued their fight with terrible great ſhot all the whole day, gaining alwaies the winde of the Spaniſh Nauy. And as I am ſorry to remember the particularities which the Engliſh haue largely written to their owne praiſe: ſo to ſpeake all in one word, for nine daies together, they ſtill forced them to flie, and deſtroyed, ſonke, and toke in three daies fight, diuers of the greateſt ſhips: out of which, ſpecially out of the principall great ſhip of Andaluzia, and out of the Admiranta of Guipuſque, and thirdly out of the principall great Galliaſſe of Naples great numbers were brought (beſide many moe killed and drowned) to London, and to ſundry other ports of the Realme, to the great diſhonour of Spaine: amongſt which priſoners were a great number of Captaines both for land and ſea. And beſides that, which deeply blemiſheth the honour of Spaine, and vexeth me at my heart, to conſider the inequalitie of fortune, it is vaunted by our Aduerſaries, that in all the time of theſe fights ſo many daies, the Spaniards did neuer take, or ſinke any Engliſh ſhip or boat, or breake any maſt, or take any one man priſoner. A matter that in deed theſe Spaniards whych are taken do marualle at greatly, and chafe thereat: ſo as ſome of them in their anguiſh of mind let not to ſay, that in all theſe fights Chriſt ſhewed himſelfe a Lutheran.

The flying away of the Spaniſh Nauie.

The Spaniards priſoners ſay, that Chriſt ſhewed himſelf a Lutheran in this Sommer voiage of the Spaniſh Nauie.

And though ſuch ſpeeches be vnadviſed, and not to be regarded: yet ſurely it is moſt manifeſt, that in all this voyage from the comming of the Nauie out of Lisbon euen to this houre, God did ſhew no fauour to ours any one day, as he did continually to theſe Lutherans: which, perchaſe, may be done for our good, to correct vs as putting our truſt wholy in our worldly ſtrength, & to the confuſion hereafter of the Lutherans, by puffing them vp, being his enemies, with proſperitie for a time, to be afterwards the cauſe of their ruine. And amongeſt other

God ſhewed no fauour to the Spaniſhe Nauy from the beginning to the ending.

things reported to the dishonour of the Duke of Medina, who, it is said, was lodged in the bottome of his ship for his safetie, and to a great touch to the Commanders of the Spanish Nauie, that they neuer would turne their ships, nor stay them, to defend any of their owne shippes that were forced to tary behind, but suffered diuers to perish, as are good witnesses thereof the three great vessels. One wherein Don Pedro de Valdez was taken: an other Galleon of Guipuscque that was spoiled with fire: and the noble Galliasse wherein Hugo de Moncada was slaine: of which lacke of care by the Duke of Medina, these Spaniards that are taken giue very euill report. The like is said in Zeland by the Spaniards there, that were saued with Diego de Pimentelli, though the Galleon wherin he was, being beaten with the English shot, and not succoured by the Nauie of Spaine, did there perish in their comming to Flushing, and so also did another likewise perish for lacke of succour before Ostend.

Don Pedro de Valdez, Captaine Generall of the Armada of Andaluzia.

Hugo de Moncada, Generall of the Galliasses of Naples.

Diego de Pimentelli Captaine of the Galleon named S. Matthew.

And now I must needes thinke that you are stricken with some griefe of mind, or rather with some anger towards me, to heare from me so much of those aduerse things, although they are too true: and therfore I also imagine you may be desirous, for your better contentation, to vnderstand what opinions we that are here haue, being thus frustrate of our expected victorie, by the defeate of this enterprise: whether we doe comfort our selues with a conceit that this Action may be by any probabilitie, once againe renued this next yeare, for the recouery of our lost hope this yeare, famously spoken of by the number of 88. and so verified to the losse of all Catholiques. Wherein surely for our owne parts, as by secret conference I find with many with whom I haue secretly of late vpon this vnfortunate accident conferred, we can not hope of any likelihood of good successe for any long time; and if there should any be hoped for, surely the Sea-forces of the King Catholique must of necessitie be more increased, and better also gouerned then they were this yeare. For this we doe here consider that this enterprise of Inuasion and Conquest, was alwaies principallie grounded vpon many probable opinions of the euill state

A consideration what may be done the next yeare to renew this Action.

of

of the Realme.

First of the weaknes of the English Nauie: for so you know you were diuers waies this last yeare aduertised from hence, and so also many of vs here did conceiue the same: wherein we see by all this yeares seruice with these ships, we did all notably erre. 1

The 3. hopes conceiued against Englād, are nowe all frustrated.

Next, of a supposed euill contentment of a number of people in this land to serue the Quéne, and her Gouernment against her enemies. 2

Lastly, and most principally, of a great strong partie that would be found here in the fauour of vs for the Catholique religion, that should take armes against the Quéne vpon the first sight of the Catholique Naule on the coasts of England. Of all which opinions, setled in good mens minds in maner of iudgements, we know that none in the world did more constantly assure the King therof then you: which, as the matters haue euill succeded, may, I feare, bring you in danger of his indignation, although I know you meant very well therein. 3

And as these three opinions haue all failed this yeare, so I assure you, though some of ours on that side the seas may persist in their former opinios against the experience lately seene (as it is likely they may be forced to doe, to maintaine themselues in credit, for continuing their necessary relief from the Pope, and the King, hauing no other meanes to keepe them frō seruing & begging) yet because I would not haue you further deceiued by them, who haue not bene present in ỹ realme to see such contrary proofes against all their conceits, as I and others haue done: I will shew you a great number of manifest arguments, though I am sory at my heart to remember them, whereby you in your wisedome (if you be not blinded by others) shall see it most certaine, that these former opinions, for comfort to be had from hence, will proue the next yeare as strong against vs, and in some part more strong then they proued this yeare, if any accompt should be made thereof.

First, for the Nauy of England, which hath this yere to the sight of the world proued to be of great force & value, for those Seas, and able to ouermatch in their maner of fight, double to

their number, of the great Gallions, Carikes, Galliasses, or Gallies, it is certaine that it will be greatly encreased this next yeare. For I know, that within these few daies bargaines are alreadie made, and Imprest of money deliuered, and certaine sent into the Estlands, for great store of all maritime prouisions. And as for the encrease of the number of good ships for the Queenes proper vse there is already a great quantitie of timber ready, and order giuen to fell more in November and December next, in the Countries neare both to the Sea, and to Thames, to build a number of ships of warre, equall to these whose seruice was seene this yeare to haue ouermatched the great Armadas and Castles of Spaine and Italy. And furthermore, to ioyne with the Nauy of England this yeare following, not onely the Hollanders and zelanders, but also ships of Denmarke, and other parts of Estland, will certainely be had in great numbers, wherof there was none at all required this yeare past to ioyne with the Nauy of England. Only certaine Hollanders and Zelanders offered their seruice (according as they are bound) in the end of this Sommer, since the conflict neare Callice, to ioyne with some of the English Nauy in the narrow seas, to defend the issuing of the Duke of Parma out of the ports of Flanders: and in that seruice at this time there are aboue forty & six good ships of warre with the Viceadmirall Iustinian of Nassau: a man that agreeth too well with the English nation, and is a sworne enemie to all Spaniards, and Catholiques: and as it is reported for certaine, there are three score more comming out of North-Holland to the seas, for the same purpose: so as it is to be doubted, that this Realme, this next yeare, will be double as strong as it was this last yeare.

The Englishe Nauie will be stronger the next yeare.

Offer of Hollanders and Zelanders, to ioine with the Englisth Nauie.

Iustinian Nassau Admiral of Holland with fixe and fortie ships of warre ioyned to the Englisth Nauie, against the D. of Parma.

As to the second branch of our hope depending vpon opinion of some great miscontentment of sundry persons against the Queene the proofe of the contrary so appeared this yeare, both of her actions to maintaine the liking of all her people, & of the generall earnest deuotion shewed to her by all estates, Noble, and meane, rich & poore, as I think no Prince Christened euer had greater cause of comfort in her people: which I may iudge to breede a pride in her. And to recompence the same she did

Argumentes to proue no miscontentment of the people towards the Queene.

most

moſt notably ſhew her ſelfe in this time, euen when moſt danger was threatened, in all her actions towardes her people, as carefull for their weale, and for the ſafetie of her Realme, without any ſpeciall or particular prouiſion, or regard to her owne perſon, as euer any Prince could do. Firſt, to let her people vnderſtand what care ſhe had to make her Realme ſtrong againſt Inuaſion, ſhe politikely, yea moſt carefully, by her owne frequent directions, cauſed her whole Realme to be put in armes, ſhe toke accompt thereof her ſelfe by monethly Certificat from ſuch as were made her Lieutenauntes in euery Shire of her Realme, ſhe cauſed Armour, Powder, Weapon, to be ſent to all Countries, and Ordinaunce to all Paritime Countries: There were alſo ſundry Armies deſcribed, to defend euery coaſt of the Sea: and as I heard it reported by ſome that did know the ſecrets of the Court, was importunate with her Counſell to leaue no day vnoccupied, to bring theſe ſeruices to effect, and yet ſhe did ſtill continue her Commiſſioners in the Low Coũtries to treat of peace, which ſurely ſhe deſired to haue obtained, ſo that ſhe might haue had the ſame with certaine conditions. So as to content her people, ſhe did both treat and deſire peace, and did not in the meane time neglect to make her Realme ſtrong for defence, if peace could not be gotten. But in the end, when her demaundes were wholy refuſed (whereof we and all Catholiques were moſt glad) and that ſhe vnderſtood very certainely, that the Armie of the Duke of Parma ſhould come firſt to deſtroy the Citie of London, ſhe reuoked her Commiſſioners, approched London in perſon, and did lie, as it were, in the Suburbes of the ſame: whereby they of the Citie toke great comfort, hauing daily in ſhew and muſter of their owne ten thouſand men armed and trained of very able men of the Citie, and in readines thirtie thouſand more, able to fight.

The prouidẽce of the Queene to make her Realme ſtrong.

She cauſed alſo an Armie to be brought to incampe neare the Sea ſide, vpon the Riuer of Thames, betwixt the Sea and the City, twenty miles beneath the City: and after the Armie was come thither, ſhe would not by any aduiſe be ſtayed, but for comfort of her people, and to ſhew her owne magnanimity

The Queenes being in the Army in Eſſex, when moſte daunger was threatned by the enemies landing.

of heart (as she said, she would so do though she was a woman) she went to that Armie lying betwixt the Citie and the Sea, vnder the charge of the Earle of Leicester, placing her selfe betwixt the enemie and her Citie, and there viewed her Armie, and passed through it diuers times, lodged in the borders of it, returned againe, and dined in the Armie: And first, saw the people as they were, by their Countries, lodged and quartered in their seuerall campes, which she viewed from place to place. Afterward, when they were all reduced into battailes, ready, as it were, to fight with any enemy, she rode round about them, and did view them curiously, being accompanied onely but with the Generall, and three or foure others attending on her: But yet to shew her state, I well marked it, she had the sword carried before her by the Earle of Ormond.

The notable Applause of the people to the Queene for her presence in the Campe.

There she was generally saluted with cries, with shoutes, with all tokens of loue, of obedience, of readinesse and willingnesse to fight for her, as seldom hath bene séene in a Campe and armie, considering she was a Quéene: and all tended to shew a marueilous cõcord, in a mutual loue, betwixt a Quéene and her subiectes: and of reuerence, and obedience of subiectes to a Soueraigne: all which she acquited with very Princely thankes, and good speaches. I could enlarge this description with many moe particularities of mine own sight, for thither I went, as many others did: and all that day, wandering from place to place, I neuer heard any word spoken of her, but in praysing her for her stately person, and Princely behauiour: and in praying for her life and safetie, and cursing of all her enemies, both Traitours, and all Papists, with earnest desire to venter their liues for her safetie.

The singing of Psalmes by the English Armie in the Campe.

And besides such particular Acclamations, the whole Army in euery quarter, did deuoutly at certaine times sing in her hearing, in very tunable maner, diuers Psalmes put into forme of Prayers in prayse of almightie God, no wayes to be misliked, which she greatly commended, & with very earnest speech thanked God with them. This that I write, you may be sure, I do not with any comfort, but to giue you these manifest

fell Argumentes, that neither this Quéene doth diſcontent her people, nor her people do ſhowe any diſcontentation in any thing that they be commaunded to do for her ſeruice, as heretofore hath bene imagined. She had alſo an Armie of about fortie thouſand footmen, and of fiue thouſand horſemen, vnder the charge of the Lord Hunſdon Lord Chãberlein, as Lieutenant of that Army, made ready from the Inland partes of the Realme, to be about her owne perſon, without diſarming the maritime Countries: ſo as many marched out of ſundry Countries towards her, at the very time that ſhe was in the Camp: ſome came to the Suburbes & Townes neare London, whom ſhe remaunded to their Countries, becauſe their Haruell was at hand, and many of them would not be countermaunded, but ſtill approched onward on their owne charges (as they ſayd) to ſee her perſon, & to fight with them that boaſted to conquere the Realme. But though the greateſt nomber of the ſaid ſouldiours were compelled to returne, yet the Captaines, Leaders, and the principall Knightes and Gentlemen came to the Court to offer their ſeruice: & thoſe were gratiouſly accepted of her with many thankes, and are now for the more part returned with a full determination, and firme promiſe to continue their Bands in ſuch readines, as vpon a few houres warning they will aſſuredly returne with them in good array.

An Army prouided for the Queene, beſide the Army readie to withſtãd the landing of the enemie.

Beſide theſe foreſaid Argumentes to diſproue the opinion of diſcontentment of the people, which heretofore hath bene thought a great furtherance to this honorable action, I will alſo remember you ſome other more notable Actions, to proue both contentation, and readines, in all the Nobilitie of the Realme at this time, that were not tyed to abide in their countries by reaſon of their offices, as Lieutenantes and Gouernours there for Martiall ſeruices. For aſſone as it was heard that the Quéene was come nere London, and that the Armies were in gathering to come out of the countries, for defence of all Inuaſions, and reportes brought from the ſea coaſts of the apparance of the Spaniſh Nauie: all the Noble men in the Realme, from Eaſt and Weſt, from North and South, excepting onely ſuch great Lordes as had ſpeciall Gouernementes

Great power of Horſemen brought by the Nobilitie to attend on the Queenes perſon.

Course of the field. the Earle of Cumberland (as they cal it) the Course of the field which I had neuer séene before: and did also him selfe, and his
Tourney. company Tourney on horsebacke a very long time, and caused also his Carabines, and his footemen to make many skirmithes there, to the great liking of the Quéene, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement speeches against all English Papists, calling them all Traitors, wishing also that the Spaniards, had bene there in that field with treble the number, to make proofe of the value of English men: all which I heard to my great griefe, with many curses against all their countrimen, saying, that they as arrant Traitors to their native countrie, had villanously sold, as farre as in them did lie, the libertie of their country to Spaniards, and other Papists. It behoued me not there to haue contraried any of them, for surely if I had, their rancour was so stirred vp, by the comfort of these faire shewes of horsemen, as they would there in the field in their rage haue killed me, and cut me in a thousand péeces.

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The Earle of Bath alſo Lieutenant of Deuonſhire, had as is ſaid, great forces of his owne readie to haue impeached the landing of any ſtrangers in Deuonſhire. The Earle of Pembroke alſo being Lieutenant of Somerſetſhire and Wiltſhire, and Lord Preſident of all Wales, was ready to haue come to the Quéene with three hundred horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen all of his owne retinue, leauing all the Countries vnder his charge fully furniſhed. Earle of Bath. Earle of Pembrokes noble offer.

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in Countries, that might not lawfully be absent from their charge, and some few that were not able to make forces according to their desire, came to the Quéene, bringing with them according to their degrées, and to the vttermost of their powers, goodly Bands of horsemen, both Launces, light horsemen, and such other as are termed Carabins or Argeletiers, lodging their Bands round about London, and maintaining them in pay at their owne charges all the time, vntill the Naule of Spaine was certainly knowen to be passed beyond Scotland. And of these Noble men many shewed their Bands of their horsemen, before the Quéene euen in the fields afore her own gate, to the great marueile of men of good iudgement (as I heard reported) for that the number of them was so great, and so well armed, and horsed, as knowing that they were no parcell of the numbers of horsemen limited in euery Countrie, and put into Bands with ỳ Armies described, it was thought before they were séene, that there had not bene so many spare horses of such valour in the whole realme, excepting the North part of England towards Scotland, whose forces consist chiefly of horsemen.

The Viscount Mountagues shewe of horsemen was the first.

The first that shewed his Bands to the Quéene, was that Noble, vertuous, honorable man, the Viscount Mountague, who, howsoeuer men do iudge of him for opinion in Religion, yet to tell you the truth, he is reported alwaes to haue professed, as now also at this time he did professe and protest solemnely, both to the Quéene, and to all her Court, in open Assemblies, that he now came, though he was very sickly, and in age, with a full resolution to liue and die in defence of the Quéene, and of his countrie, against all Inuaders, whether it were Pope, King or Potentate whatsoeuer, and in that quarell he would hazard his life, his children, his lands and goods. And to shew his minde agréeably thereto, he came personally himself before the Quéene, with his Band of horsemen being almost two hundred: the same being led by his owne sonnes, and with them a yong child, very comely seated on horseback, being the heire of his house, that is, the eldest sonne to his son & heire: a matter much noted of many, whom I heard to commend

mend the same: to see a grandfather, father, and sonne, at one time on horsebacke afore a Queene for her seruice, though in truth I was sory to see our Aduersaries so greatly pleased therewith. But I cannot conceale it from your Lordships knowledge, because I thinke this Noble man is knowen vnto you, hauing bene vsed as an Ambassadour to the King Catholique many yeares past by this Queene (as I haue heard) to require confirmation of the treaties of amitie, betwixt both their Fathers. And of this Noble mans conditions, I thinke there be some others, of whom there is no accompt to be made that they will giue fauour to any attempt against the Queene or to any Inuasion of the Realme.

A number of great Lordes shewed their horsemen.

There were also many at the same time that made shewes of great numbers of seruiceable horses, whereof though it be no comfort to you to heare, yet is it good that you be not abused for lacke of knowledge, how the present state is here: that you may better iudge hereafter what may be done to recouer this late losse and dishonour. At this time the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord Windesore, with some Knights and Gentlemen with them shewed their Bands, as the Lord Montague had done: and after them, the Lord Chancelour shewed goodly Bands of horsemen and footmen at his owne house, very manie and strong. And within one or two daies after the Earle of Warwicke, the Lord Burghley Lord Treasurer, the Lord Compton, and in the end of the day the Earle of Leycester, and the Lord Rich, besides sundry Knights of the Realme, shewed euery of them seuerall strong Bands of horsemen, to the great liking of the Queene, and of all the people that were there, being many thousands. And within two daies after that, the Earle of Essex being Master of the Queenes horse, with certaine principall Gentlemen his seruants, friends and followers, shewed afore the Queene aboue three hundred horses of al seruice, and a great number of Carabins, and a faire Band of footmen all Musketiers.

Earle of Lincolne.
Lord Windesore.
Lord Chancelour.
Earle of Warwicke.
Lord Treasurer L. Compton.
Earle of Leycester.
Lord Rich.
Sir Walter Mildmay.
Sir Henry Cromwel.
Sir Ioh. Poines.
Earle of Essex with a great Band of horsemen and footemen afore the Queene at S. Iames.

This shew exceeded in number any other particular Band, and the Earle himselfe with a great number of Launces, horsed and armed, did run very many courses, and specially with

Course of the field.

Tourney.

the Earle of Cumberland (as they cal it) the Course of the field which I had neuer séne before: and did also him selfe, and his company Tourney on horsebacke a very long time, and caused also his Carabines, and his footemen to make many skirmithes there, to the great liking of the Quéene, and of the multitude of people, which were many thousands. Amongst whom I heard many vehement spéeches against all English Papists, calling them all Traitors, wishing also that the Spaniards, had bene there in that field with treble the number, to make proofe of the value of English men: all which I heard to my great griefe, with many curses against all their countrimen, saying, that they as arrant Traitors to their native countrie, had villanously sold, as farre as in them did lie, the libertie of their country to Spaniards, and other Papists. It behoued me not there to haue contraried any of them, for surely if I had, their rancour was so stirred vp, by the comfort of these faire shewes of horsemen, as they would there in the field in their rage haue killed me, and cut me in a thousand péeces.

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Earle of Hertford.
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Marques of Winchester.

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Earle of Northumberland. Earle of Cumberland.

out knowledge of the Quéne, put themselues into the Quéns Nauy in sundry ships, wherein they serued at the sight afore Callice: of which number being very great, I remember that the names of some of them were these: Master Henry Brooke sonne & heire to the Lord Cobham, Sir Thomas Cecil sonne and heire to the Lord Treasurer, Sir William Hatton heire to the Lord Chancellour, Sir Horatio Pallauicino a Knight of Genua, Master Robert Carie sonne to the Lord Hunsdon, Sir Charles Blunt, brother to the Lord Mountioy. But much speach is of two Gentlemen of the Court that went to the Nauie at the same time, whose names are Thomas Gerard and William Heruie, to me not knowen, but now here about London spoken of with great fame. These two aduentured out of ship boate, to scale the great Galliasse wherein Moncada was, and entred the same only with their Rapiers: a matter commonly spoken, that neuer the like was hazarded afore, considering the height of the Galliasse compared to a ship boate.

Master Henry Brooke.
Sir Tho. Cecil.
Sir Wil. Hatton
Sir Horatio Pallauicino.
M. Robert Carie.
Sir Charles Blunt.
M. Thomas Gerard.
M. Wil. Heruie.

And yet to make it more manifest, how earnest all sorts of Noble men, and Gentlemen, were to aduenture their liues in this seruice, it is reported that the Earle of Oxford, who is one of the most auncient Earles of this land, went also to the Sea to serue in the Quénes Army. There went also for the same purpose, a second sonne of the Lord Treasurer, called as I can remember, Robert Cecil: there went also about that time to the Seas, the Lord Dudley an ancient Baron of the Realme, and Sir Walter Ralegh a Gentleman of the Quénes priuie Chamber, and in his company a great number of young Gentlemen, amongst whom I remember the names of the heire of Sir Thomas Cecil, called William Cecil, of Edward Darcy, Arthure Gorge, and such others: with the rehearsall of whom I do not comfort my selfe, but only to shew you, how farre we haue bene deceiued to thinke that we should haue had a partie here for vs, when as we see both by land and Sea, all sorts of men were so readie of their owne charges, without either commandement, or entertainement, to aduenture their liues in defence of the Quéne and the Realme.

Earle of Oxford.
M. Robert Cecil.
L. Dudley.
Sir Walter Ralegh.
M. Wil. Cecil.
M. Edward Darcy.
M. Arthure Gorge.

And for the Earle of Huntingtons forces, being Lieutenant Gene-

Earle of Huntington.

Generall in the North, it is reported, that he hath put in readines for an Armie in Yorkshire, and other Countries commonly limited to serue against Scotland, to the number of fortie thousand well armed footemen, and neare hand ten thousand horsemen, to come to him if any occasion of Inuasion should be in the North partes: to whom are ioyned with their forces three Lordes in the North, the Lord Scroop, Lord Darcy, and Lord Euers. L. Scroope. L. Darcy. L. Euers.

There are also diuers other Lordes that are Lieutenants of Countries, that haue in readinesse of their proper charges good numbers of horsemen. As the Earle of Kent, Lieutenant of Bedfordshire: the L. Hunsdon Lord Chamberlaine, Lieutenant of Norfolk and Suffolk: the Lord Cobham Lieutenant of Kent: the Lord Gray of Buckinghamshire: the Lord North of Cambridgeshire: Lord Chandos of Glocestershire: Lord S. Iohn of Huntingtonshire: Lord Buckhurst of Sussex: and so by this particuler recital not vnmeet for your knowledge, it is to be noted what disposition the Nobilitie of the Realme had at this time to haue withstood all Inuasion. And if percase you shall peruse your ordinary Catalogue of the great Lordes of the Realme, you shal find that these are the substance of all the great Lords, sauing three young Earles within age, Rutland, Southhampton, and Bedford: all three brought vp in peruerse religion. And so remaineth to be spoken of, the Earle of Arundel, who is in the Tower for attempting to haue fled out of the Realme, by prouocation of him that now is Cardinall Allen: who, howsoeuer he may be affected to the Catholique religion: yet I heare most certainly that he offereth his life in defence of the Queene against all the world. Earle of Kent. L. Hunsdon. L. Cobham. L. Graye. L. North. L. Chandos. L. Saint Iohn. L. Buckhurst. Earle of Rutland. Earle of Southampton. Earle of Bedford.

And where accompt was made to haue a partie in this Realme, which by these former relations appeare could not be possible. the whole Nobilitie being assured to the Queene, and the force of the people not violently bent that way: In this very time was offered to the Queene as great a partie for her, to come to her seruice, and defence of the Realme, as out of all Christendome, she could not haue to all respects a stronger. Which was the King of Scots, who hea-

Offer of the K. of Scots to the Queen of England.

ring of the intended Inuasion of the Realme, sent a Gentlemã to the Quæne, with his letter, as I credibly heard, to offer her all the power that he had to defend her & her Realme: and if she so would, he would come in his owne person, and hazard his owne life, to defend this Realme against all Inuaders for Religion, or any other pretence whatsoeuer. So by this you may see, what accompt may be made of any vayne promises, made in the name of this King. And because you shall perceiue that I haue good meanes to haue intelligence of any other forces of the Realme for defence thereof, it is most certaine as I heare, and I haue séene a List or Rol of a great number both of horsemen and footmen, which the Bishops of the Realme haue of their owne charges, with the cõtribution of the Clergy, raised vp in Bandes of horsemen and footmen, which are to be led by Noble Gentlemen at the Quæenes nomination: and these Bandes must be vaynely termed *Milites Sacri.*

Bands of horsemen and footmé erected by the Bishops.

The third and last hope which the Catholiques had of a partie in the realme was all frustrate.

As to the last point of the three foundations of the principal hope conceiued, whereupon the Inuasion was chiefly grounded and taken in hand, which was most certainly and generally beléeued, that there should be found here in the Realme a strong partie of Catholiques, against the Quæne to ioyne and assist the Inuaders, vpõ the appearing of the Spanish Naue: by my former relations of the generall great & feruent loue of the people towardes the Quæne, and of the great offers of seruice now made by the whole Nobilitie of the Realme, this their foundation may appeare to haue bene wrong laied, onely by imaginations, as it were vpon a quick-sand, or rather as flying in the aire. And yet it appeareth very truely that no small accompt was made hereof by the King of Spaine, and by his principall Ministers: for there is nothing at this present more vniuersally, with one lamentable voyce spoken of, by all the multitude of the Spaniardes, now here prisoners, yea by the chiefest of them, then that they now euidently see, that the King their Maister was with such informatiõs greatly abused, yea rather betrayed. For they say there was no mã of value in all this Army, but he heard it constantly affirmed, and so deliuered for comfort of all that serued therein, before they

The Spanishe prisoners condemne the K. purpose, as being abused by the exiled Catholiques, whó the Spaniardes call traitors to their countrie.

they were shipped that they should not be afrayed of any resistance to land in England, for that there was god assurance geuen to the King, that they should finde a strong Armie of Catholiques ready in their fauour, assone as euer their Nauie should be seene vpon the Sea coast, & so they all here say they were incouraged to come to this iourney: otherwise, many of them sweare they would neuer haue come on shipbord: so vnlikely, they say, it was and against all reason, to Inuade a Realme, with opinion to conquere it, without both some title of right, and a partie also: but specially without a god sure partie.

No possibilitie to Inuade and conquere a realme, without fauour of a partie inward.

And therefore now finding this report very false, many of these prisoners do by name curse you, as being the Kinges Ambassadour: as him, they say, who vpon the opinion of the knowledge which you had gotten in England, was therein more credited then any other, and had these many yeares together tempted the King their Maister, vpon hope, and other such like perswasions, to attempt such a matter as this was: being vtterly in all wisedome to haue bene condemned, without some certaintie of this latter part, specially to haue had a strong partie here. They also curse all such Englishmen, as haue fled out of this Countrie, whom they spare not to call arrant Traitors, for offring the sale of their Countrie to the Pope and the King of Spaine. And these prisoners adde also, that they were borne in hand, that this Countrie was so open to march in, and so weake to withstand any force, and the people so miserable, as they thought the Conquest thereof had bene of no more difficulty then the ouercomming of a nomber of naked Indians was at the beginning of the Conquest thereof by King Ferdinand.

The Spanishe prisoners condemne the enterprise and course of Don Bernardin of Mendoza.

And now for strength of this countrie and people: many of these prisoners hauing bene brought from the Sea coastes hether to London, whereby they haue obserued the countrie and the people, doe speake marueilously thereof, counting the same inuincible, otherwise then by treason of some great partie within the Realme. But whether all these speeches which are commonly reported of them proceede from their hartes, or that

they speake thus to please the English, because they are well vsed by them, who also are easily deceiued with flattery, I know not: but sure I am they do thus speake daily, with outward shewe of great passions against such as haue bene perswaders to the King for this iourney. Diuers of them also which are of good iudgemẽt, & haue heard of such of the English banished men as haue bene in Spaine, & haue knowen some of them there (as of long time, Sir Francis Englefield, & of late, the Lord Paget & his brother) haue curiously inquired, of what power they were & credit here, to haue a partie. They also inquired of the Earle of Westmerland: although of him they confesse he is a man but of small gouernement. But our Aduersaries here haue so abased these & all the rest, to haue bene of no credit to cary any numbers of men but by the Quẽnes authoritie, when they were at their best: as the prisoners wonder how the king could be so deceiued to giue them pentions otherwise then for charitie, because of their religion. But they confesse they haue often heard in Spaine, how the King was once notably deceiued, when one Thomas Stukeley a priuat Englishman, who fled out of Ireland for debt & other lewd Actions into Spaine, not being worth one peny, his debts being paied, & but the second sonne of a meane Gentleman, pretended, and was beleeued in Spaine (by so intitling of him selfe) to be a Duke, a Marquis, and an Earle of Ireland; and so was a long time enterteined, as a man that could do great seruice against the Quẽne of England: vntill at length the King vnderstood his falshood, and banished him out of Spaine. And after repairing to Rome, was by the Pope also mainteined for a time, vntill he was discouered euen by some good Catholiques, that could not endure the Popes holines to be so grossely mocked: of whom some of the prisoners vsing mery speches, how both the Emperour Charles and afterward this King, and the Pope, were so notably deceiued by this Stukeley, do conclude merely, that they thinke some of these English that haue thus abused the King, haue followed Stukeleys steppes. And in very truth, I and many others haue bene very often ashamed to heare so brode speches, of the King, and of the Pope, yea of the

Sir Frãcis Englefield. Lord Paget.

Earle of Westmerland.

Thomas Stukeleyes abusing of the King of Spaine and the Pope, newly remẽbred by the Spaniardes.

the Emperour Charles, whom such a companion as Stukeley was, could so notably deceiue: and it was the more to be marueiled, how he could deceiue the King Catholique, considering he was knowen to many of his Counsell, at the Kings being in England, to haue bene but a vaunting beggar, and a Ruffian, and afterwards, a Pirat against the Spaniards.

A conclusiō by the writer, to perſwade an other course, not by violence.

Now my Lord Ambassadour, by these my large relations of the things euil past, and of the opinions of such as I haue lately dealt withall, with mine owne conceit also, which I doe not vainely imagine, your Lordship may see in the first part, our present calamitie, and miserable estate: in the second part, the state of this Quéene, her Realme, her people, their mindes, their strength, so far contrary to the expectation of the Popes holines, the King Catholique, and specially of you (my Lord) and all others that haue bene in hand these many yeares with this Actiō, as I know not what course shal, or may be thought méete to take, séeing it is séene by experience, that by force, our cause cannot be reléeued. Neither will any change amend the matter, when this Quéene shall end her daies, as all Princes are mortall. For both the vniuersalitie of the people through the Realme, are so firmely and desperately bent against our religion, as nothing can preuaile against their vnited forces: and whosoeuer shall by right succéede to this Crowne after the Quéene (who is likely to liue as long as any King in Christendome) if the Crowne should come to the King of Scots, or to any other of the blod Royall, as there are very many within this Realme descended both of the Royall houses of Yorke, and Lancaster, there is no accompt to be made, but euery one of them, that now liue at this day, are knowen to be as vehemently disposed to withstand the authoritie of the Pope, as any of the most earnest Protestant or Heretique in the world. So as to conclude, after all circumstances well considered, for the present I know no other way, but to commit the cause to Almightie God, and to all the Saints in heauen, with our continuall prayers: and in earth to the holy Counsels of the Pope, and his Cardinals, with our supplications to relæue the afflicted number of our exiled brethren, and to send

No hope for furtherance of the Popes authoritie by any now liuing that may succeede the Queene in the line Royall.

A Conclusion what is best, to maintaine the Catholike Religion in England.

into the Realme diſcrete, holy, and learned men, that may only in ſecrete maner, without intermedling in matters of eſtate, by teaching vs, confirme vs in our faith, and gaine with charitable inſtruction, others that are not roted in hereſie.

A tolleration from the Pope for the Recuſants in England.

And for relieſe of ſuch as are forced to pay yearely great ſommes of money out of their reuenue, becauſe they forbeare to come to the Church, it were to be charitably conſidered, whether there might not be ſome diſpenſation from the Popes holines for ſome fewe yeares, to tollerate their comming to the Church, without changing of their faith: conſidering a great number do ſtand therein, not for any thing (as they ſay) vſed in this Church, that is directly contrary to Gods law, but for that the Rites and praiers (though they are collected out of the body of the Scripture) are not allowed by the Catholique Church, and the head thereof, which is the Popes holines: and for that cauſe iuſtly, al true Catholiques, accompt this Church to be ſchiſmaticall. By which remedie of tolleration, a great number of ſuch as will be perpetually Catholiques, might enioy their liuings and libertie: and in proces of time, the Catholique religion (by Gods godneſſe) might with more ſuretie be increaſed, to the honour of God, then ever it can be by any force whatſoever. For ſo did all Chriſtian religion at the firſt begin, and ſpread it ſelfe quer the world: not by force, but only by teaching, and example of holines in the teachers, againſt all humane forces. And ſo I will end my long Letters, with the ſentence which King Dauid vſed foure times in one of his Pſalmes. *Et clamauerunt ad Dominum in tribulatione eorum & de anguſtia eorum liberauit eos:* And ſo muſt we make that for our foundation to lay our hope vpon, for all other hopes are vaine and falſe.

At London the of Auguſt. 1588.

After

AFter that I had made an end of this my letter, which I found by peruſall thereof to haue bene at more length, then I loked for, although the matters therein conteined did draw me therto, and that I had made choice of a friend of mine who had more knowledge in the French tong, then I, to turne the ſame into French: my miſhap was, that when he had done ſome part thereof, he fell ſicke of a burning feuer, whereby my letter remained with him vpon hope of recouery for tenne or twelue daies: and ſeeing no hope thereof, I entreated another very truſtie & a ſound Catholique hauing perfect knowledge in the French tong, who toke vpon him to put it into French, wherein was alſo longer time ſpent: ſo as my letter being written in the midſt of Auguſt, I am forced to end it in September. And thereupon I thought good, whiles my former letter was in tranſlating, to adde ſome things happened in the meane time meet for your knowledge.

About the ſeuenth of Auguſt, the Lord Admirall returned with the Naule, hauing followed the Spaniſh Nauie (as they reported) as farre as the 55. degree Northwards: the Spaniſh Nauie taking a courſe either to the furtheſt partes of Norwey, or to the Orcades beyond Scotland: which if they did, then it was here iudged that they would goe about Scotland and Ireland: but if they ſhould go to Norwey, then it might be, that if they could recouer prouiſions of maſtes, whereof the Engliſh Nauy had made great ſpoile, they might returne. But I for my part wiſhed them a proſperous winde to paſſe home about Ireland, conſidering I deſpaired of their returne for many reſpects, both of their wants, which could not be furniſhed in Norwey, and of the lacke of the Duke of Parmas abilitie to bring his Armie on the Sea, for want of Mariners. Neuertheles, vpon knowledge from Scotland that they were beyond the Orcades, and that the King of Scots had giuen ſtrict commandement vpon all the ſea coaſtes that the Spaniardes ſhould not be ſuffered to land in any part, but that the Engliſh might land and be releeued of any wants: order was giuen to diſcharge all the Nauie, ſauing twentie ſhips that were vnder the Lord Henry Seymours charge, to attend

Order taken by the K. of Scots in fauour of the Engliſh.

vpon the Duke of Parmas attempts: either towards England, which was moſt vnlikely: or toward Zeland, which began to be doubted. But within three or foure daies after this, ſuddenly there came report to the Court, that the Spaniſh Nauie had refreſhed it ſelfe in the Iſlandes beyond the Orcades, both with water plentifully, and with bread, fiſh, and fleſh, as for their money they could get: and would returne hether once againe, to attend on the Duke of Parmas Armie, to conduct it by Sea into England. Whereupon grew ſome new buſines here, wherewith I know the Quéene and her Counſell was not a little perplexed what to do, but in the end, order was giuen to ſtay the diſarming of her Nauie, and ſo the whole Nauie was verie ſpédily made readie againe, onely vpon the former reportes: wherewith I and many others were very glad, to ſée them thus newly troubled, and vpon euery light report put to great charges. But this laſted not paſt eight or tenne daies. For vpon more certaine knowledge by two or three Pinnaſes that were ſent to diſcouer where the Spaniſh Fléete was, which certified that they were beyond the Orcades, ſailing towards the Weſt, in very euill caſe, hauing many of their people dead in thoſe North partes, and in great diſtreſſe for lacke of maſtes, and alſo of Mariners: a new commandement was giuen to diſſolue the Nauie, ſauing that which ſhould attend on the Duke of Parma: and ſo the Lord Admirall returned, with the Lord Thomas Haward, the Lord Henry Seymour, Lord Sheffeld, Sir Francis Drake, with all the Captaines to the Court, ſauing ſuch as had charge of the Fléete, that was vnder the Lord Henry. And vpon the returne of theſe ſea men to the Citie, there are ſpread ſuch reports, to moue the Noble men, Gentlemen, Ladies, Gentlewomen, & all other vulgar people of all ſorts, into a mortall hatred of the Spaniards, as the poore Spaniſh priſoners were greatly afraid, to haue bene all maſſacred: for that it was publiſhed, and of many beléeued, that the Lords of Spaine that were in the Nauie, had made a ſpeciall diuiſion amongſt themſelues, of all the Nobls mens houſes in England by their names, and had in a fort quartred England among

Great murmurs of all ſortes, againſt the Spaniards.

mong themselues, and had determined of sundry manners of cruell death, both of the Nobilitie, and the rest of the people. The Ladies, Women, and Maidens were also destined to all villanie: the rich Marchants houses in London were put into a Register by their very names, & limitted to the companies of the Squadrons of the Nauy for their spoile. And to increase more hatred, it was reported that there were a great number of Halters brought in the Spanish Naule, to strangle the vulgar people, and certain Irons grauen with markes, to be heated for the marking of all children in their faces, being vnder seuen yeares of age: that they might be knowen hereafter, to haue bene the children of the conquered Nation. These were commonly reported by those that came from the English Naule, as hauing heard the Spaniards confesse the same: so as for a time there was a generall murmure, that these Spanish prisoners might not to be suffered to liue, as they did, but to be killed as they had purposed to haue done the English. But the wiser sort of men, and such as had the charge of the prisoners, hauing no commandement from the Counsel, did straitly looke to the safetie of the prisoners, as a matter not to be so rashly suffered. But to content the people with some other matter, there was vpon Sunday last, at the request of the Maior and his brethren, a great number of Banners, Streamers, and Ensignes, which were wonne from the Spanish Naule, brought to Paules Church-yard, and there shewed openly in the Sermon time, to the great reioysing of all the people. And afterwardes they were carried to the crosse in Cheap, & afterwards to London bridge: whereby the former rage of the people was greatly asswaged, the fury generally conuerted into triumph, by boasting in euery place, that this was the Act of God, who had heard the feruent prayers of the people, & was pleased with their former prayers and fastings: to haue such Banners, & Streamers, which the Spaniardes meant to haue brought and set vp in all places of the Citie, as monuments of their Triumphes, by his good prouidence in punishing the pride of the Spaniardes, now to be erected by the English, as monuments of their victories, and of perpetuall shame to the

Report of the horrible cruelties intended by the Spaniards.

Banners, Streamers, and Ensignes of the Spaniards shewed to the people.

Spaniardes. Upon these shewes great reioycing followed:
Daily prayers. And as in June and July past, all Churches were filled daily with people exercised with prayers, and shewes of repentance, and petitions to God for defence against their enemies: and in many Churches continually thrice in the weeke exercises of prayers, Sermons, & fastings all the day long from morning to euening, with great admiration to see such generall deuotion (which I and others did iudge to proceede more of feare then of deuotion) so now since the English Nauy is returned, and the Spanish Nauie defeated, and intelligence brought of the disorders in Flaunders: of the dissentions betwixt the Spaniards, and the other Souldiers: of the contempt of the Duke of Parma by the Spaniards, being thereto maintained by a Duke called the Duke of Pastraw, the King Catholiques bastard: and of the departure and running away of the Dukes Mariners, here is a like cõcourse of the people to Sermons in all Churches: wherein is remembred the great goodnes of God towards England, by the deliuery therof from the threatned Conquest, & prayers also publikely to giue thankes to God for the same.
Publike praiers and giuing of thankes.

At London this of September. 1588.

ALthough it be well known, that neither the firſt writer of theſe Letters nowe by me printed, nor yet the Spaniard *Don Bernardin* to whome they are directed, had any deſire to heare of any good ſucceſſe to the ſtate of England: as may appeare in the writer, by ſhewing himſelfe grieued, to make any good report of England, other then of meere neceſſitie he was vrged: and in *Don Bernardin*, who was ſo impudent, or at the leaſt, ſo blindly raſh, as to diſperſe in print, both in French, Italian, and Spaniſh, moſt falſe reports of a victorie had by the Spaniards, euen when the victorie was notable on the part of England, and the Spaniſh vanquiſhed: yet whileſt I was occupied in the printing hereof, a good time after the letters were ſent into Fraunce, there came to this Citie certaine knowledge, to all our great comfort, of ſundrie happie Accidents, to the diminution of our mortall enemies in their famous Fleete, that was driuen out of our ſeas about the laſt of Iuly, towards the farthermoſt North partes of Scotland. Wherfore I haue thought it not amiſſe to ioine the ſame to this Letter of *Don Bernardin*, that he may beware, not to be ſo haſtie of himſelfe, nor yet to permit one *Capella*, who is his common ſower of reports, to write theſe falſe things for truthes.

The particularities wherof are theſe. The Fleete was by tempeſt driuen beyond the Iſles of Orknay, about the firſt of Auguſt, which is now more then ſixe weekes paſt, the place being aboue three ſcore degrees from the North Pole: an vnaccuſtomed place for the yong Gallants of Spaine, that neuer had felt ſtormes on the ſea, or cold weather in Auguſt. And about thoſe North Iſlands, their mariners and ſouldiers died daily by multitudes: as by their bodies caſt on land, did appeare. And after twentie dayes or more, hauing ſpent their time in miſeries, they being deſirous to returne home to Spaine, ſayled very farre Southweſtward into the Ocean to recouer Spaine. But the Almightie God, who alwayes auengeth the cauſe of his affected people which put their confidence in him, and bringeth downe his enemies that exalt themſelues with pride to the heauens, or-

dred the winds, ſo be ſo violently contrarious to this proud Nauie, as it was with force diſſeuered, on the high ſeas Weſt vpon Ireland: and ſo a great number of them, driuen into ſundrie dangerous bayes, and vpon rockes, all along the Weſt, and North parts of Ireland, in ſundrie places diſtant aboue an hundred miles aſunder, & there caſt away: ſome ſonke, ſome broken, ſome runne on ſands, ſome burned by the Spaniards themſelues.

As in the North part of Ireland towardes Scotland, betwixt the two riuers of *Loughfoile* and *Lough Swilley*, nine were driuen to land, and many of them broken: and the Spaniardes forced to come to land for ſuccour amongſt the wilde Iriſh.

In another place, twentie miles Southweſt from thence, in a Bay called *Calbeggy*, three other ſhips driuen alſo vpon rockes. In another place Southward, being a Bay, called the *Borreys*, twentie miles North from *Gallowey*, belonging to the Erle of *Ormond*, one ſpeciall great ſhip of a thouſand tonne, with fiftie braſſe peeces; and foure Canons was ſonke, and all the people drowned ſauing ſixteene: who by their apparell, as it is aduertiſed out of Ireland, ſeeme to be perſons of great eſtimation.

Then to come more to the Sowthward, thirty miles vppon the coaſts of *Thomond*, North from the riuer of *Shennan*, two or three mo periſhed, whereof one was burned by the Spaniards themſelues, and ſo driuen to the ſhore: an other was of *S. Sebaſtians*, wherein were three hundred men, who were alſo all drowned, ſauing three ſcore. A third ſhip with all her lading was caſt away at a place called *Brecken*.

In another place afore *Sir Tirlogh Obrynes* houſe, there was alſo another great ſhip loſt, ſuppoſed to be a Galliaſſe. Theſe loſſes aboue mẽtioned, were betwixt the fift and tenth of September, as was aduertiſed from ſundrie places out of Ireland: ſo as by accompt, from the one and twentieth of Iuly, when this Nauie was firſt beaten with the Nauie of England, vntill the tenth of September, being the ſpace of ſeuen weekes, and more, it is moſt likely that the ſayde Nauie had neuer good day, nor night.

Of the reſt of the Nauie, report is alſo made that many of them haue bene ſeene, lying of and on, vpon the coaſt of Ire-

land

land, toſſed with the winds, in ſuch ſort as it is alſo doubted, that many of them ſhall hardly recouer Spaine, if they be ſo weakened with lacke of victuals and mariners, as part of their companies that are left on land do lamentably report. Theſe accidents I thought good to adde to the printed Copies of the letters of *Don Bernardin*: that he may ſee, how God doth fauour the iuſt cauſe of our gracious Queene, in ſhewing his anger towardes theſe proud boaſting enemies of Chriſtian peace: as the whole world, from *Rome* to the vttermoſt parts of Chriſtendome may ſee, that ſhe and hir Realme, profeſſing the Goſpell of his ſonne Chriſt, are kept and defended, as the words of the Pſalme are, *Vnder the ſhadowe of his wings from the face of the wicked, that ſought to afflict her, & compaſſe her round about to take away her ſoule*: which, I doubt not, by thankfulneſſe yeelded by her Maieſtie and her whole Realme, will alwayes continewe.

The 9. of Octob. 1588.

CERTEINE ADVERTISEMENTS OVT OF IRELAND, CONCERNING THE LOSSES HAPPENED to the Spaniſh armie vpon the Weſt coſtes of Irelande, in their voyage intended from the Northerne Iſles beyond Scotland, towardes Spaine.

The ſeuenth of September.

VPon Saterday the vij. of September, the barke which was in perill of wrack in the bay of Trayly of betweene fortie and fiftie tonne, did render them ſelues, in which there were xviij. men, whereof two were the Dukes owne ſeruaunts and two little boyes.

On Tueſday the tenth of this September, there was a Frigat caſt of as it ſeemeth by this Nauy, which, as Sir William Herbert ſaith, wrecked vpon the coaſt of Deſmond.

A place neere to Smerwike where the Spaniards were defeated by the Lord Gray.

On the ſame Tueſday there wrecked in the ſound of the Bleskeys, a ſhip called our Ladie of Roſary, of one thouſand tonne. In this ſhippe was drowned the Prince of Aſcule, the kings baſe ſonne, one Don Pedro, Don Diego, and Don Franciſco with ſeuen other Gentlemen of accompt, that accompanied the Prince. There was drowned in her alſo Michael Oquendo a principall ſea man chief gouernour of the ſhip: Villa Franca of S. Sebaſtians, Captaine of the ſame ſhip: Matuta, Captaine of the Infanterie of that ſhip: Captaine Suwares a Portingall, Garrionerie, Lopecho de la Vega, Montenese, and one Franciſco Caſtilliã, Captains, one Iohn Riſe an Iriſh Captain, Francis Roch an Iriſh man: and about fiue hũdred perſons, whereof one hundred were Gẽtlemen, but not of that reckoning as the former were, and onely one Iohn Anthonio de Monona a Genuan, being the Pilotes ſonne of that ſhip, ſaued.

Michael Oquẽdo was generall of the ſquadrõ of xiiij. ſhips of Guipuſque.

Fiue hundred drownd, whereof were a hundred gentlemẽ, and one onely ſaued of the whole number.

The ſame Tueſday it was aduertiſed to the Vicepreſident of

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of Mounſter, that there were loſt vpon the coaſt of Thomond two great ſhips out of which there were drowned about ſeuen hundred perſons, & taken priſoners about one hundred & fiftie. Seuen hundred drowned, and one hundred take priſoners

About that Tueſday alſo, as appeareth by a letter writte to Stephan White of Limmerik the twelfth of this September, there was caſt vpon the ſandes of Ballicrahihy a ſhip of nine hundred tonnes, thirtæne of the Gentlemen of that ſhip, as he writeth are taken, and ſo writeth that he heard the reſt of that ſhip being aboue foure hundred haue ſought for their defence, being much diſtreſſed, to intrench themſelues. Ballicrahihy. Thirteene gentlemen taken. Foure hundred haue ſought to intrench themſelues.

He writeth alſo of another ſhip which was caſt away at the Iſle of Clere in Irriſe, and lxxviij. of the men of that ſhip are drowned and ſlaine. Seuety & eight were drowned and ſlaine. Threeſcore taken.

He writeth alſo that there was about ỹ ſame time another great ſhip caſt away in Tireawley, & that there are three Noble men, a Biſhop, and a Frier, and lxix. other men taken by William Brook of Ardnerie, and all the reſidue of that ſhip are ſlaine and drowned, in ſomuch as he writeth that one Melaghlin Mac Cab, a Galloglaſſe killed foureſcore of them with his Galloglaſſe are. Wednesday the xi. of September, ſeuen of thoſe ſhips that thē remained within the Shenan departed out of that Rode with an Eaſterly winde, and before their going forth they ſet on fire one other very great ſhip of their compa- ny, which was one thouſand tonnes at leaſt. Melaghlin Mac Cab ſlue foure ſcore of them. A Spaniſh ſhip of a thouſande tuns burnt by the Spaniards.

It was enformed from the Viceprẽſident at Cork, vpō this ſeuentēnth of September laſt, that two other great ſhips of that Fleete ſhould be loſt vpon the coaſtes of Connaught. Two other ſhips loſt.

The Admirall called Iohn Martin de Ricalde came into the ſound of Bleskeys with one other great ſhip and a barke about the vi. day of this Septēber, & remaineth there with one other ſhip of foure hundred tonnes, & a bark which came in ſince that time, if they be not diſperſed or loſt by the great tempeſt that was the xvij. and xviij. of this moneth: for the ſtate of the Admirall at his comming in was thus, the ſhip had bene ſhot thorough xiij. or xv. times, her maine maſt was ſo beatē with ſhot as ſhe durſt not beare her full ſaile, and now not lx. mariners left in her, and many of them ſo ſicke that they lye downe, and Ricaldes the Admiral in the ſound of Bleſkey.

the residue so weake, that they were not able to do any good seruice, and there is daily cast ouer the bord out of that ship fiue or sixe of the company.

After this was printed thus farre, as euery day bringeth more certaintie in particulars of the losse of the Spaniardes in Irelande, these reportes which followe came from Ireland, being the examinations of seuerall persons there taken and saued.

IOHN ANTHONIO DE MONONA AN Italian, sonne to Francisco de Monona Pilot of the ship called Sancta Marie de la Rose, of a thousand tonnes cast away in the sound of Bleskey.

11. September. 1588.

EXamined the xi. of September sayth, that he and the rest parted from the English Fléte, as he thinketh, about the coast of Scotland, and at that time they wanted of their whole Fléte foure Gallies, seuen ships, & one Galliasse which was the Captaine Galliasse, and there were then dead by sight & by sickness viij. thousand men at the least. Where he left ỹ Duke he knoweth not, but it was in the North seas about eighténe daies sithence, he saw then no land, and therefore can name no place, but they seuered by tempest, the Duke kept his course to the sea: we drew towards land to finde Cape Clere, so did diuers other ships, which he thinkes to amount to the number of forty ships: with the Duke there went fiue and twentie ships.

Eight thousand Spaniards lost by sight & sickneſſe.

Hither he came round about Scotland, he thinkes the Duke is by this time nere Spaine, the Dukes desire was, after his stay before Callice, to goe to Flanders, but by reason of the contrarietie of the windes, the shallownesse of the water (his ships being great) he could not arriue there.

Besides the ships before mentioned, he remembreth that two ships were sonke vpon the coast of Scotland, by reason of shottes receiued from the English shippes, the one called S. Matthew of fiue hundred tonnes, wherein were drowned foure hundred and fiftie men, the other shippe a Biskey of S. Sebastian of foure hundred tonnes, wherein were drowned

Two ships sonke.

three

thrée hundred and fiftie men, and the ship wherein he was called S. Marie Rose, of one thousand tonnes, wherein of fiue hundred there escaped but himselfe, in which ship of principall men there were drowned, these principall men following. The Prince of Ascule base sonne to the King of Spaine, Captaine Matuta, Captaine Conualle a Portingall, Rupecho de la Vego of Castill, Suryuero of Castill, Montanese of Castill, Villa Franca of S. Sebastian Captaine of the said ship. The Generall of all the Fléte of Guipusque called Don Michael d'Oquendo, twentie other Knights and Aduenturers vpon their owne charges.

A ship of 1000. tonne sonke & of 500. persons but one saued.

The Kings base sonne drowned with other principall persons.

He saith, that the Fléte was in great want of fresh water, and being examined what ordinance, wines or other matters of moment were in the ship here cast away, saith, there were fiftie great brasse péces all Canons for the field, fiue & twenty péces of brasse and cast iron belonging to the ship, there is also in her fiftie tonnes of Secke. In siluer there are in her fiftéene thousand Duckets in gold as much more, much rich apparell and plate and cups of gold.

Fiftie Canons, twéty fiue peeces of ordinãce, fiftie tonnes of secke & thirtie thousand Duckets in gold and siluer sonke.

He saith also, that the Duke of Medina appointed all the Fléte to resort and méete at the Groyne, & none of them vpon paine of death not to depart there hence afore they should know his farther pleasure.

The examination of Emanuell Fremosa a Portingall 12. September. 1588.

HE saith, he was in the ship called S. Iohn of the port of Portingall of one thousand one hundred tonne. In which Don Iohn Martines de Ricalde is, who is Admirall of the whole Fléte, and is next vnder the Duke who is Generall, in which ship at their comming forth there were eight hundred souldiers, and for marriners thrésore Portingales and fortie Biskeyns, this is the greatest ship of the whole Nauie.

He saith, they were in all at their comming forth a hundred thirty and fiue saile, whereof foure were Calliasses, foure Gallies, and nine of them were victuallers.

They came from the Groyne on the fifteenth day next after Midsommer last past, by their accompt.

He saith they were directed to the Duke of Parma and by him to be imployed for England at such time as Parma should appoint.

He saith after their departure from the Groine about eight dayes the Flæte came to the Lysards.

He saith about that place, the Generall strake saile whereupon they all stroke saile all night, and the next morning they saw the English Flæte, whereupon they hoised their sailes.

He saith they were before enformed that the English Flæte was in Plimmouth and Dartmouth.

Fifteene men lost in fight vpon the Lisards.

He saith on the Northeast of the Lysards the first fight began betweene the Fleets, & in that fight their ship lost fifteene men.

Five and twentie moe lost in the same ship.

He saith that there were other fights within a foure or five daies after along the coasts, in which the ship that this examinat was in, lost five and twenty men, what were lost in these fights out of the other ships he cannot tell, and in these fights

Two ships lost.

they lost two ships, in the one of which Don Pedro was, and one other that was burned.

They ankered at Callice expecting the Duke of Parma, where through the fiering of the English ships they were driuen to leaue their ankers and to depart, so as ech of the ships lost two ankers at that place, the next morning, the fight began about eight of the clocke in the morning, and continued eight houres along the chanell to the North, all which time the English Fleete, prested the Spanish Fleete in such sort as if they had offred to bord the Spanish Fleete, they saw their Admirall so fearefull, that he thinketh that they had all yeelded.

One Galliasse cast on shore. Two Gallions and one Biskeine sonke.

He saith that in the said fight the Spanish Fleete lost one Galliasse, which ranne a shore about Callice, two Gallions of Lisbone which were sonke being the Kings, and one Biskeine ship sonke, of betweene foure and five hundred tonnes, and one other ship sonke also, after which fight, the Generall toke accompt of the whole Nauy, & found that they were left about a hundred & twenty sailes of the whole Fleete, as was deliuered by those that came frō the top, but of his owne sight he saw

not

not passing fourescore and fiue saile or there about, but what was become of the rest he cannot tell.

He saith that there were also in that fight three great Venetian ships, which were in danger of sinking, being sore beaten and shot through in many places, but were for that time holpen by the Carpenters, and as he hath heard, for that they were not able to keepe the Seas, tooke them selues toward the coast of Flanders, but what is become of them he cannot tell. Three Venetian shippes sore beaten with shot.

He saith they were pursued by some of the English Fleete about fiue dayes after this fight Northward out of the sight of any land, and as he thinketh of the North part of Scotland.

He saith that about foure daies after the English Fleete left them, the whole Fleete remaining being towards one hundred and twentie saile, as it was said, came to an Iland as he thinketh of the North part of Scotland, where they stayed not, nor had relieke, but at this place the Generall called all the ships together giuing them in charge that they should with the best they could hast them to the first place they could get to of the coast of Spaine or Portingall: for that they were in such great distresse, through their great wants of victuals and otherwise. He saith they came forth the worse furnished thereof, for that they expected to be relæued of those things more amply by the Duke of Parma: he saith that out of this ship there died foure or fiue euery day of hunger and thirst, and yet this ship was one that was best furnished for victuals, which he knoweth, for out of some of the other ships some people were sent to be relæued in this ship.

After this for a ten dayes the whole Fleete remaining, held together, holding their course the best they could towardes Spaine.

He saith that at the same time, which is now about twentie dayes or more past, they were seuered by a great storme which held from foure of the clocke in the after none of one day, to ten of the clocke in the morning the next day, in which storme the Admirall came away with seuen and twentie saile which this examinat did tell, and that one of them was a Galliasse

of eight and twenty owers on a side, what is become of the rest of the Nauie he can not tell.

He saith also that about ten dayes past, they had one other great storme with a mist, by which storme they were againe seuered, so as of those seuen & twenty saile there came into the coast by Dingle Cushe, but the Admirall, one other ship of foure hundred tonnes and a barke of about fortie tonnes, and what is become of the rest of the seuen and twenty saile he can not tell, but of one great Hulke of foure hundred tonnes which was so spoiled as she cast towardes the shore about twentie leagues from Dingle Cushe, he knoweth not who was Captaine of this Hulke, he saith that of all sortes there be now remaining in the Admirall neare about fiue hundred, of which there be fiue & twenty Biskeys and fortie Portingals which are mariners, the Master being very sicke and one of the Pilots.

He saith, there be foure score souldiers & twenty of the mariners in the Admirall very sicke, & do lie downe and die daily, and the rest he saith be all very weake, & the Captaine very sad and weake, he saith this Admirall hath in her fiftie foure brasse peeces, and about foure score kintals of pouder.

He saith they were so neare the coast before they found it, that by meanes of the strong Westerly winde they were not able to double out from it.

There is in the Admirall left but fiue and twenty Pipes of wine, & very little bread, & no water, but what they brought out of Spaine, which stinketh maruellously, and their flesh meate they can not eate their drought is so great.

He saith no part of the Nauie to his knowledge euer touched vpō any land vntil such time as they came to this coast at Dingle Cushe, nor hath had any water, victuall, or other relief from any coast or place sithence the English Fleete left them.

He saith, that when they lay before Callice there came a Pinnace to their Fleete frō the Duke of Parma who told them the Duke could not be ready for them vntill the Friday following, but by reason of this fight of the English Fleete with them, they were not able to tarry there so long.

He saith, that the Admirals purpose is vpon the first winde

that

that serueth, to passe away for Spaine.

He saith also, that it is a common brute amongst the souldiers, if they may once get home againe, they will not meddle againe with the English.

He saith, there be of principall men in the Admirals ship, Don Iohn de Lina a Spaniard, who is chiefe Captaine of the souldiers of that ship, Don Gomes a Spaniard, an other Captaine: Don Sebastian a Portintall Gentleman an Aduenturer: and a Marquelle an Italian, who is also an Aduenturer, and one other Portingall Gentleman whom he knoweth not, but that they are principal men that haue crosses on their garments: other meane Gentlemen there be also in the same ship: He saith all the souldiers in this ship were Spaniards, he saith there are in the small Barke that is with them about fiue and twenty persons, how many are in the Hulke that is there, he knoweth not.

He saith, he thinketh that the Duke is past toward Spaine, for that he was some twelue leagues more Westerly, then the Admirall was in the first Fraime.

He saith, that the great Gallion which came from the Duke of Florence, was neuer seene sithence they were in the fight at Callice: He saith, the people of the Gallasses were most spoiled by the English Fleete.

The examination of Emanuell Francisco a Portingall. 12. September. 1588.

EManuell Francisco a Portingall, saith in all things as the former examinat, till the fight at Callice, in which fight he saith he knoweth there was lost a Gallasse that ran a shoare at Callice, two Gallions of the Kings, the one called S. Philip of the burden of seuen hundred, and the other called S. Matthew of eight hundred, a Biskeine ship of about fiue hundred, and a Castillian ship about foure hundred tonne all sunke. This he knoweth for that some of the men of those ships were deuided into the Admirals ship, in which this examinat was.

He saith, after this fight ended, it was deliuered by him at

the top, that there was one hundred and twentie saile left of the Spanish Fléte, and saith that those were very sore beate, and the Admirall was many times shot through, and one shot in their mast, and their deck at the prow spoiled, and doth confesse that they were in great feare of the English Fléte, and doubted much of boording.

He saith, the Admirals mast is so weake by reason of the shot in it, as they dare not abide any storme, nor beare such saile as otherwise he might doe, & for the rest he agreeth in euery thing with the former examinat, sauing that he saw not, or vnderstood of any Pinnace that came from the Duke of Parma, nor doth remember that he saw aboue twenty saile with the Admirall after the first storme: and saith, that those in the shippe that he is in, doe say that they will rather go into the ground themselues, then come in such a iourney againe for England: and saith, the best that be in the Admirals ship, are scarse able to stand, and that if they tarry where they are any time, they will all perish as he thinketh, and for himselfe he would not passe into Portingall againe, if he might chose: for that hee would not be constrained to such an other iourney.

Iohn de le Conido of Lekit in Biskey mariner.
12. September. 1588.

IOhn de le Conido of Lekit in Biskey mariner, saith he was in the ship that the Admirall is in, and that he told the Nauy after the fight ended at Callice, & that there were then remaining not passing a hundred and ten or a hundred and twelue of the whole Spanish Nauie: and saith that a leake fell vpon one of the Gallialles about fifteene daies past, which he taketh to be fallen vpon the North coast of this land: he saith he doth not remember that there were aboue twentie saile left in the company of the Admirall after the first great storme, which fell on them about thirtie daies sithence: he saith the Duke did giue them expresse commandement that they should not goe on land in any place without his order: he confesseth that the Nauy that remained after the last fight, were maruellously

beaten and ſhot through, and their tackle much cut and ſpoiled with the ſhot, and for the reſt of the matter agréeth with the former examinat in euery point in effect, and ſaith there was an Engliſh Pilot with the Duke. He ſaith that the Scot that is taken was taken in the North part, after the Engliſh Flét parted from them in a ſhip of fifty tonnes in which were about ſeuen men, which the Fléete hath carried with them. both the ſhip and people, fiue of which Scots were aboord the Admirall, whereof one is he that is taken.

The Spaniſhe Nauy ſore beaten with ſhot by the Engliſh, and their tackling much ſpoiled.

He ſaith, after the Engliſh Fléte parted from them the Spaniſh Fleete caſt out all the horſes and mules into the ſea to ſaue their water, which were caried in certaine Hulkes prouided for that purpoſe.

The Spaniards caſt their horſes and mules ouer boord.

The reexamination of Iohn Anthonio of Genua mariner. 15. September. 1588

HE ſaith his father and him ſelfe with others came into Lisbone in a ſhip of Genua, about a yeare ſithence where they were embarqued by the King of Spaine, that ſhip was of about foure hundred tonne.

He ſaith his father after this was appointed Pilote in the ſhip called our Lady of the Roſary, of the burden of a thouſand tonne being the Kings: he ſaith the Prince of Aſcule ẏ Kings baſe ſonne came in the company of the Duke in the Dukes ſhip called the Galleon of S. Martine of a thouſand tonne, but at Callice when ẏ Engliſh Nauie came neare thẽ, this Prince went to the ſhore, & before his returne the Duke was driuen to cut his Ankers, and to depart: whereby the Prince could not recouer that ſhip, but came into the ſaid ſhip called our Lady of the Roſary, and with him there came in alſo one Don Pedro, Don Franciſco, and ſeuen other Gentlemen of accompt that accompanied the Prince. He ſaith the Captaine of this ſhip was Villa Franca of S. Sebaſtians, and Matuta was Captaine of the Infanterie of that ſhip. There was alſo in her Captaine Suwares a Portingall, and one Garrionero a Caſtillian Captaine, Lopicho de la Vega, a Caſtillian Captaine, Cap-

taine Montanese, a Castillian: and one Captaine Francisco a Castillian: and Michael d'Oquendo who was Generall of this ship. There was also in her one Irish Captaine called Iohn Rise, of about thirtie yeares of age, and one other Irish man called Francis Roche. The Prince was of about eight & twentie yeares of age. He saith there were other Gentlemen Adventurers in the ship, but not of that reckoning as the former were. He saith there were in all seuen hundreth men in this ship at their comming forth: he saith, there were about fiue hundred in this ship at such time as she sonke: the rest perished by fight and by sickneſſe. He saith, this ship was shot thorough foure times, and one of the shot was betwéene the winde and the water, whereof they thought she should haue sonke, and the most of her tackle was spoiled with shot, this ship stroke against the rockes in the sound of the Bleskyes, a league and a halfe from the land vpon Tuesday last at none, and all in the ship perished sauing this examinat, who saued himselfe vpon two or three planckes that were loose, the Gentlemen thinking to saue themselues by the bote, it was so fast tied as they could not get her loose, wherby they perished: he saith, as sone as the ship stroke against the rocke, one of the Captaines slue this examinats father, saying he did it by treason. He saith, there came in their company a Portingall ship of about foure hundreth, who comming into the same sound, cast anker neare where they found the Admirall of the Flæt at anker, called S. Iohn, in which Don Martine de Ricalde the Admirall was, he saith that about two and twentie dayes past the Duke departed from them, and about fiue and twentie ships in his companie, and about fortie ships were with the Admirall, but this ship was not able to follow the Admirall, by reason her sailes were broken: and for the rest of the Nauy that remained, they were so dispersed, as he cannot tell what is become of them. He saith, the Duke being better watered then the others were, held more Westerly into the Seas, and willed the Admirall with his companie being in worse estate for water to séeke if he could touch with any coast to get fresh water, sithence which they haue bene seuered by the nights and by tempest: he saith,

this

this ship nor any other of the shippes touched vpon any land, nor had any reliefe of water or victuall at any place sithence they parted, but from two Scottes, which they toke vpon the coast of Scotland, whose fish and victuall the Duke toke, but payed them for it.

He saith, their ships were so beaten, and the winde so contrary, and the shelles vpon the coast of Flaunders, so daungerous, as the Pilot that was in the Dukes ship, directed them this course Northward as their safest way. He saith, that in one of the dayes in which the fight was betweene both the Nauies, the Duke seeing the English Fleete so hardly to pursue them willed his Fleete, seing no other remedy, to addresse thē selues to fight. He saith, that in that day of the fight at Callice they lost foure thousand men in fight, one thousād were drowned in two ships, he saith ỳ master of the Cauallary of the Tercij of Naples and Sicile was slaine in this fight by a great pēce that brake his thigh, his name he remembreth not: at which time also the Maister of the Campe of the horsemen, and the Maister of the Campe of the footmen were both slaine, but their names he remembreth not: He saith the foure Galliasses were of Naples: He saith the feure Gallies left ỳ Fleete, before they came to ỳ English by well neare 11 leagues: He saith, the Florentine ship is gone with the Duke: He saith, there were xiiij. Venetian ships in this Fleete, two of them he saith are drowned, what is become of the rest he knoweth not, they serued the king but by arrest: he saith there be three English men Pilotes in the Dukes ship.

In the fight at Callice were slaine the Maister of the Cauallary of the Tercij of Naples & Sicile. The Maister of the Campe of the horsemen. The Maister of the Campe of footemen. And foure thousand others, besides a thousand drowned.

He saith, this ship that is drowned hath in her three chests full of money: he doth not know what moued the Duke to cōmand that ỳ whole Nauie that remained should repaire to ỳ Groine and not to depart without his direction vpon paine of death.

The examination of Iohn Antonio de Moncke xxx. miles from Gaunt. 17. September. 1588.

HE saith, the Prince of Ascule was a slender made mā, and of a reasonable stature, of xxviij. yeares of age, his haire

of an aboꝛne colour ſtroked vpward, of a high foꝛehead, a verie little beard marqueſotted, whitely faced with ſome little red on the cheꝛkes, he was dꝛowned in apparell of white ſatten foꝛ his doublet and bꝛeꝛches after the Spaniſh faſhiõ cut, with ruſſet ſilke ſtockings. When this Pꝛince came into their ſhip at Callice, he was apparelled in blacke raſed veluet laid on with bꝛoade gold lace. He ſaith, that this Pꝛinces men, foꝛ the moſt part were in the ſhippe that this examinat was in, from their comming out of Spaine: and when they were at Callice the Pꝛince paſſed in a litle Phelocke with ſir others from ſhip to ſhip to giue oꝛder to them, & ſome ſaid he went to the ſhoꝛe at that time.

He ſaith, it was thought to be about lx. leagues Weſt from the Noꝛthweſt part of Ireland, that the Duke departed from the reſt of the companie. He ſaith, they parted by a tempeſt growing in the night, & that about fiue dayes after, a Portingall Gallion ouertaking this ſhip told vnto thoſe of this ſhip, that there were xxb. ſhips of the whole Nauie paſſed away with the Duke, and that the reſt then remaining of the whole Nauy were diſperſed by this tempeſt, ſome eight in one company, and foure in another: and thus diſperſedly paſſed on the ſeas. But how many ſhips remained after their departure frõ the coaſt of Scotland, of the whole Nauy, this examinat can not tell. He ſaith that after this firſt tempeſt which was about xxb. dayes now paſt, growing of a Southweſt wind, they had ſundꝛy tempeſtes beſoꝛe they were loſt with variable winds, ſometime one way, and ſometimes an other.

The reexamination of Emanuell Fremoſa.
17. September. 1588.

EManuell Fremoſa mariner examined the ſame day, ſaith that the day next beſoꝛe the great tempeſt, in which the Duke was ſeuered from them, being a very calme day, him ſelfe counted the Nauie then remaining, which then were about lxxbij. ſaile in all: when they were fartheſt of in the Noꝛth, they were at lxj. degrées Noꝛthward, and were thẽ about

bout foure ſcore leagues and ſomewhat more from any land, and at the Northweſt part of Scotland, Cape Clere being then from them South and by Weſt, and this was about foure or fiue dayes, before the ſaid great tempeſt, and from that time vntill the ſame tempeſt, they had the winde moſt Weſt, and Weſt Southweſt, and ſometimes Weſt Northweſt, but that not very long. he ſaith that it was knowne to very few of the Nauy that the Prince the Kings baſe ſonne was in this Naute vntill they came to Callice, where this Prince about the time of the fight, was ſaid to take him ſelfe into a little boate vpon the coaſt of Callice, but before that, he kept him ſelfe as priuate in the Dukes owne ſhip as it was ſaid, and not noted or ſpoken of in the Nauy vntill then. But he ſaith there was a great Prince an Italian, that was a chiefe man in a great Argoſie very wel furniſhed, who before their comming to the Engliſh coaſt did very often banket the Duke and the other great men of the Nauy. This Argoſie was called the Ratte: he ſaith he did not perceiue if this ſhippe were in this Fleete the day before the ſaid tempeſt or not, but he ſaith this being a famous ſhip, it was often demanded, if ſhe were in their company, and it was anſwered that ſhe was: he ſaith the chiefeſt of the treaſure that ſerued for the pay, was as he heard in the Galliaſſe that arriued on the ſhore at Callice, and in a ſhippe of Siuil made in Galiſia called the Gallega of about vij. hundred tonnes, in which Don Pedro de Valdez was, which was taken on the South coaſt.

The examination of Pierre Carrea Flemming.

HE ſaith that in the ſhip that he came hither in called Saint Iohn a Gallio of nine hundred tonnes beſides Iohn Martin de Ricalde, there are fiue Captaines, Don Iohn de Lune, Don Gomes de Galanezar, Don Pedro de Madri, the Count of Parades, Don Felice and there is alſo an Italian Marquiſſe of Piemont called the Marqueſſe of Faruara.

He ſaith alſo that the Admirall after ſuch time as the fight was at Callice came not out of his bed, vntill this day ſeuen

The Admirall after the fight at Callice came not out of his bed in ſeauen weekes and more.

nights in the morning that they ranne vpō the ſhore. He ſaith his Admirall is of Biskeye either of Bilbō or Allerede, and of lxii. yeares of age, and a man of ſeruice. He ſaith, that there were in this naute of the old ſouldiers of Naples vnder the conduct of Don Alonſo de Sono & of the old ſouldiers of Sicile vnder the conduct of Don Diego de Piementelli whoſe ſhip was loſt nére Callice. There was alſo Don Alonſo de Leua maiſter of the cāp of the Catuallery of Millan: he ſaith, there is a baſtard ſonne of King Phillips of xxviii. yeares of age in this Fléte in the ſhip with the Duke, called the Prince of Aſcule in Italie, who paſſed from thē in a Pinnace about Callice as he toke it.

By other *Aduertiſements* of the fourteenth of September, it is certified to the Lord Deputie of Ireland, from the Earle of Tyron being at his Caſtle of Dongannon that vpon intelligence brought to him of the landing of certaine Spaniards in the North of Ireland, he ſent two Engliſh Captaines with their bandes towardes them, to the nomber of an hundred and fiftie, who found them at Sir Iohn Odogherties towne called Illagh, and there diſcouering their nomber to be aboue ſix hundred, did that night encamp within a muſket ſhot of them, and about midnight did ſkirmiſh with them for the ſpace of two houres, in which ſkirmiſh the Spaniſh Lieutenant of the field and twentie moe of the Spaniardes were ſlaine, beſides many that were hurt.

Sixe hundred Spaniards aſſaulted by one hundred and fifty Engliſhe, vanquiſhed & taken priſoners.

The nert day following they did offer ſkirmiſh agayne to the Spaniardes, whereupon they all yelded, and ſo as priſoniers were caried to Dongannon to the Earle, who meant to ſend them to the Lord Deputie, being iudged to be men of good value and one thought to be a man that hath had ſome great charge and conduct of men for many yeares, whereof the Lord Deputie will geue knowledge as ſone as they ſhall be brought to Dublin.

There may be ſome errours in the writing of the Spaniſh names in Engliſh, becauſe the ſame are written by way of interpretation, but there is no errour in the nombring of the perſons that are either dead or aliue.

26. September. 1588.

SHIPS

SHIPS AND MEN SONKE, DROWNED, killed, and taken vpon the coaſt of Ireland in the moneth of September 1588.

In Tyreconnell	In Loughfoyle.	1. ſhip	1100 men	Of that ſhip and others that eſcaped.
In Connaught	In Sligo hauen.	3. great ſhips	1500	
	In Tireawley.	1. ſhip	400	
	In Clere Iland	1. ſhip	300	
	In Finglaſſe	1. ſhip	400	
	In Oſlartie	1. ſhip	200	
	In Irriſe	2. ſhips		The men fled into other veſſels.
	In Galway bay.	1. ſhip	70	
In Munſter	In the Shennan	2. ſhips	600	
	In Traylie	1. ſhip	24	
	In Dingle	1. ſhip	500	
	In Deſmond	1. ſhip	300	
	In the Shennan	1. ſhip burnt		The reſt embarqued in another ſhippe.

Totall 17. ſhips of men 5394.

AFORE THE LOSSE OF THE FORE-

ſaid ſeuenteene ſhips in Ireland, there periſhed in July & Auguſt fifteene other great ſhips in the fight betwixt the Engliſh and Spaniſh Nauies in the narrowe ſeas of England, where no one Engliſh Veſſell or perſon of any reputation, periſhed or was taken.

	Ships	Men	
First Gallies.	4	1622.	
Neare Edriſton by Plimouth at the first conflict.	1	0600.	
* Don Piedro de Valdes taken. * The ſame time was diſtreſſed & taken Don Pedro de Valdes ſhip	1	422.	These two remaine in England.
At the ſame time by fire a great Biſcaine ſhip.	1	289.	
* In this veſſell Don Hug. de Moncada was ſlaine. *Afore Callis ſpoiled the principall Gates of Naples.	1	686.	
In the conflict was ſonke a great Biſcaine.	1	000.	
The Gallion S. Philip.	1	532.	These two forced into Pluſhing being ſore beaten by the Engliſh great ſhot.
* Don Diego Pimentel taken in this. * The Gallion S. Matthew.	1	397.	
A Biſcaine wrecked before Oſtend.	1	000.	
The day after the fight there ſank two Venetians.	2	843.	
A great Biſcaine forced by two of the Queenes ſhips to periſh at Newhauen.	1	000.	
	Ships	Men	
Total of theſe ſhips	15	4791.	
Totall of both theſe loſſes.	32	10185.	Whereof there are priſoners in England & Zeland at the leaſt 1000. beſides a great multitude of men not here accounted, that were ſlaine in the fight, and that haue died of famine, as by the examinations aforeſaid appeareth.
Beſide many ſhips not yet heard of, thought to be loſt.			